NEW

BOOK OF THE INQUISITION

INSIDE CATHOLICISM'S RUTHLESS WAR ON HERESY

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

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FUTURE

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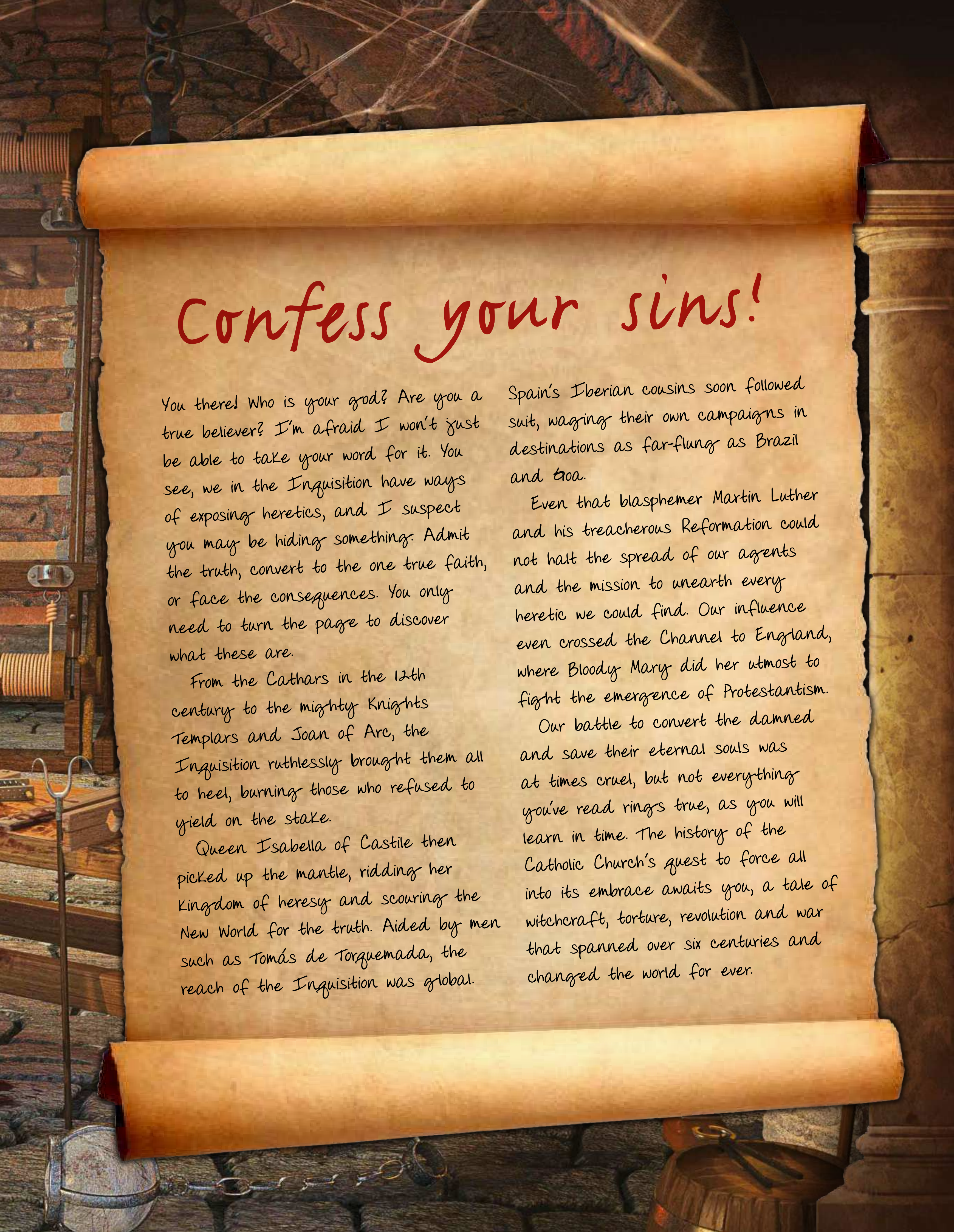
PLUS

- † TOMÁS THE TORTURER
- † INQUISITIONS ACROSS THE GLOBE



Confess your sins!

You there! Who is your god? Are you a true believer? I'm afraid I won't just be able to take your word for it. You see, we in the Inquisition have ways of exposing heretics, and I suspect you may be hiding something. Admit the truth, convert to the one true faith, or face the consequences. You only need to turn the page to discover what these are.

From the Cathars in the 12th century to the mighty Knights Templars and Joan of Arc, the Inquisition ruthlessly brought them all to heel, burning those who refused to yield on the stake.

Queen Isabella of Castile then picked up the mantle, ridding her kingdom of heresy and scouring the New World for the truth. Aided by men such as Tomás de Torquemada, the reach of the Inquisition was global. Spain's Iberian cousins soon followed suit, waging their own campaigns in destinations as far-flung as Brazil and Goa.

Even that blasphemer Martin Luther and his treacherous Reformation could not halt the spread of our agents and the mission to unearth every heretic we could find. Our influence even crossed the Channel to England, where Bloody Mary did her utmost to fight the emergence of Protestantism.

Our battle to convert the damned and save their eternal souls was at times cruel, but not everything you've read rings true, as you will learn in time. The history of the Catholic Church's quest to force all into its embrace awaits you, a tale of witchcraft, torture, revolution and war that spanned over six centuries and changed the world for ever.

FUTURE

BOOK OF THE INQUISITION

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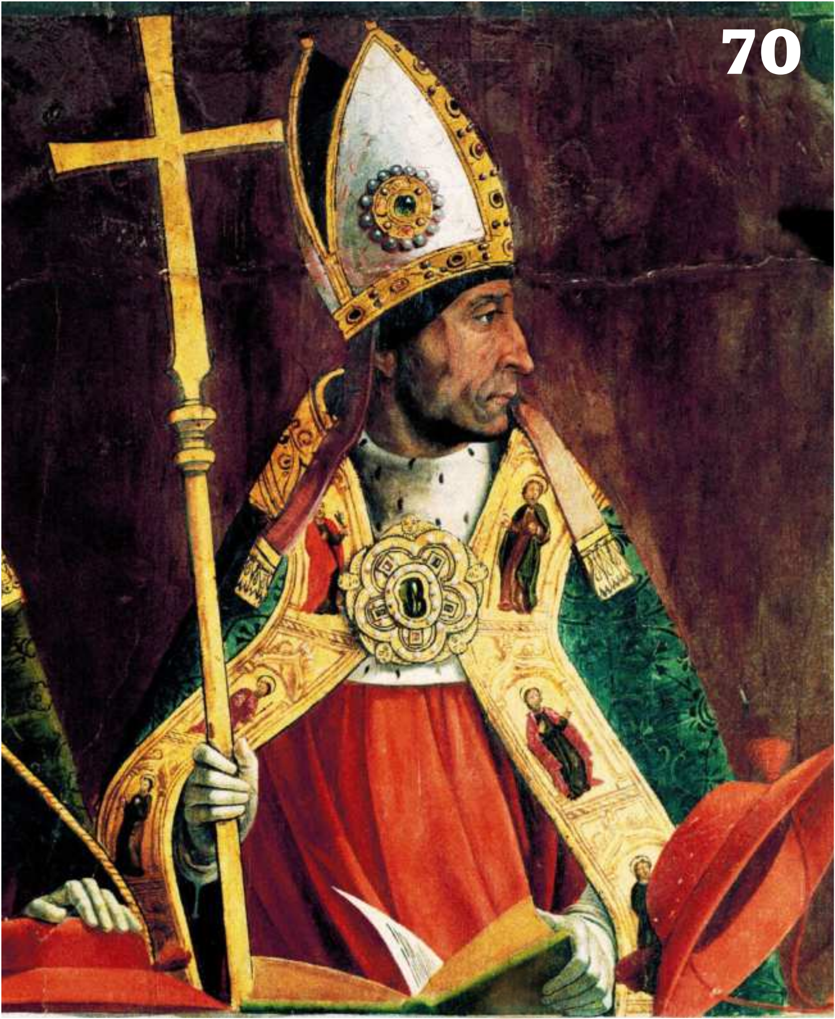
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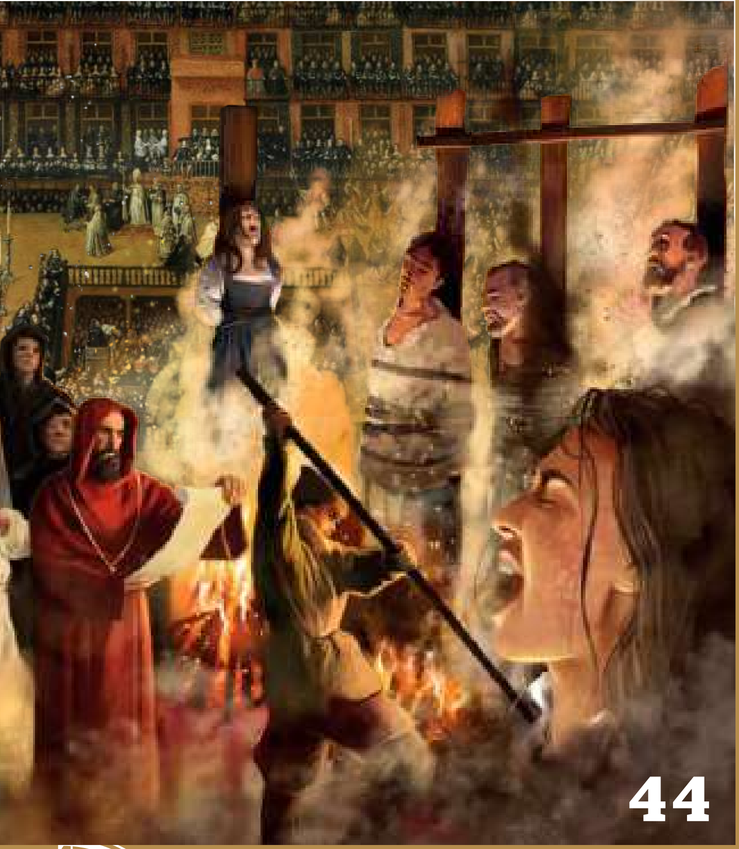
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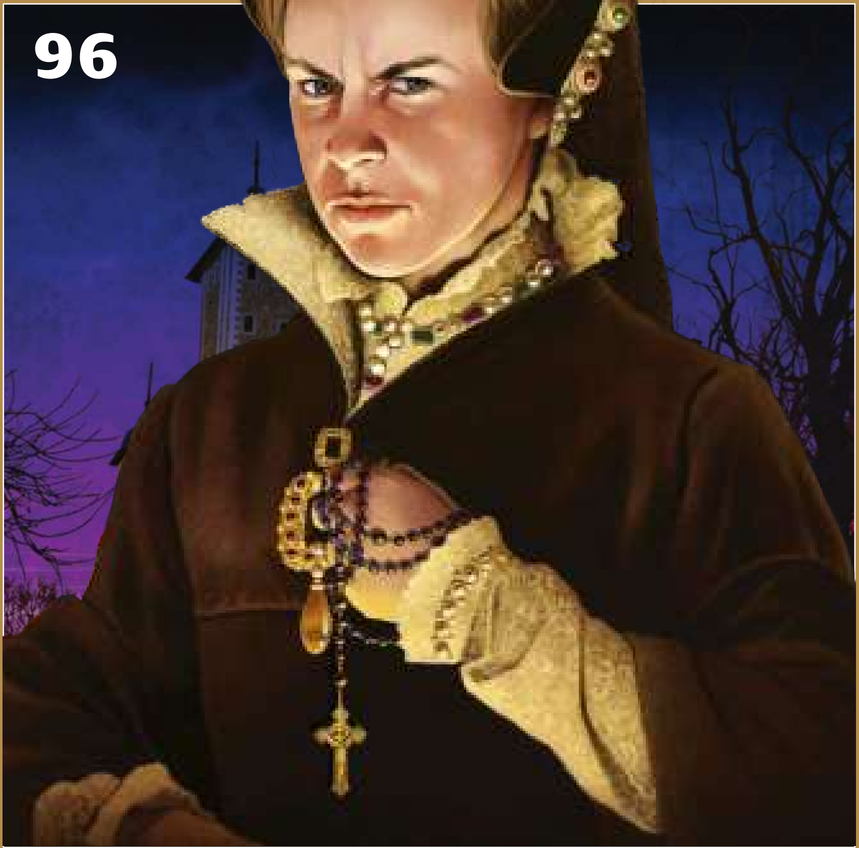
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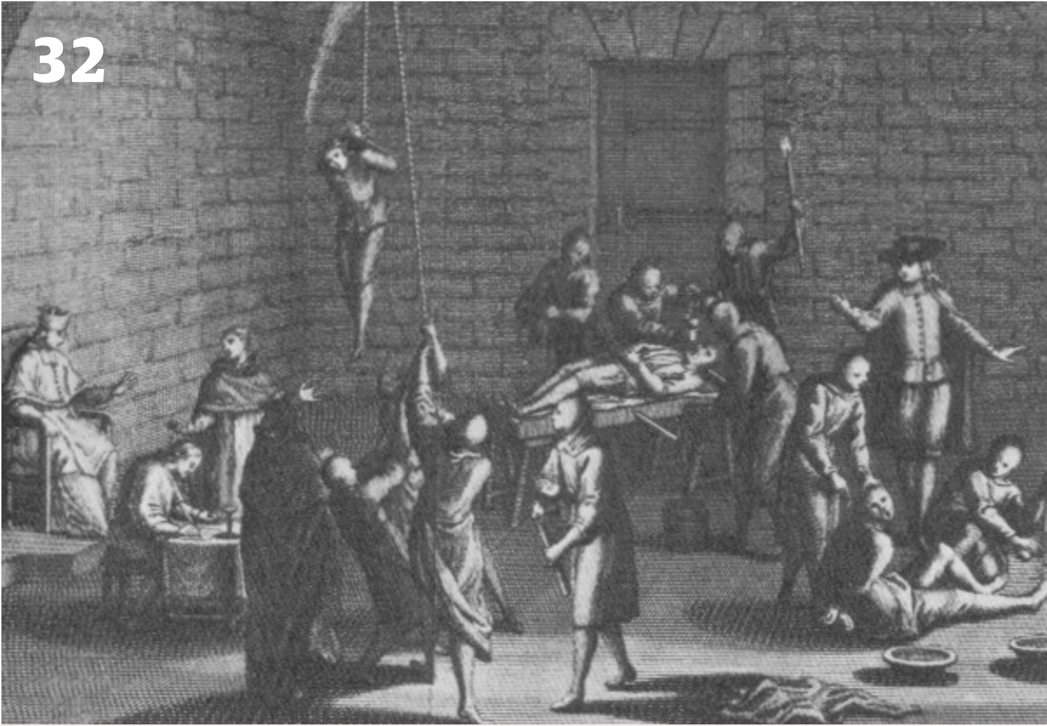

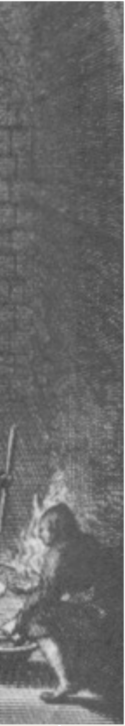

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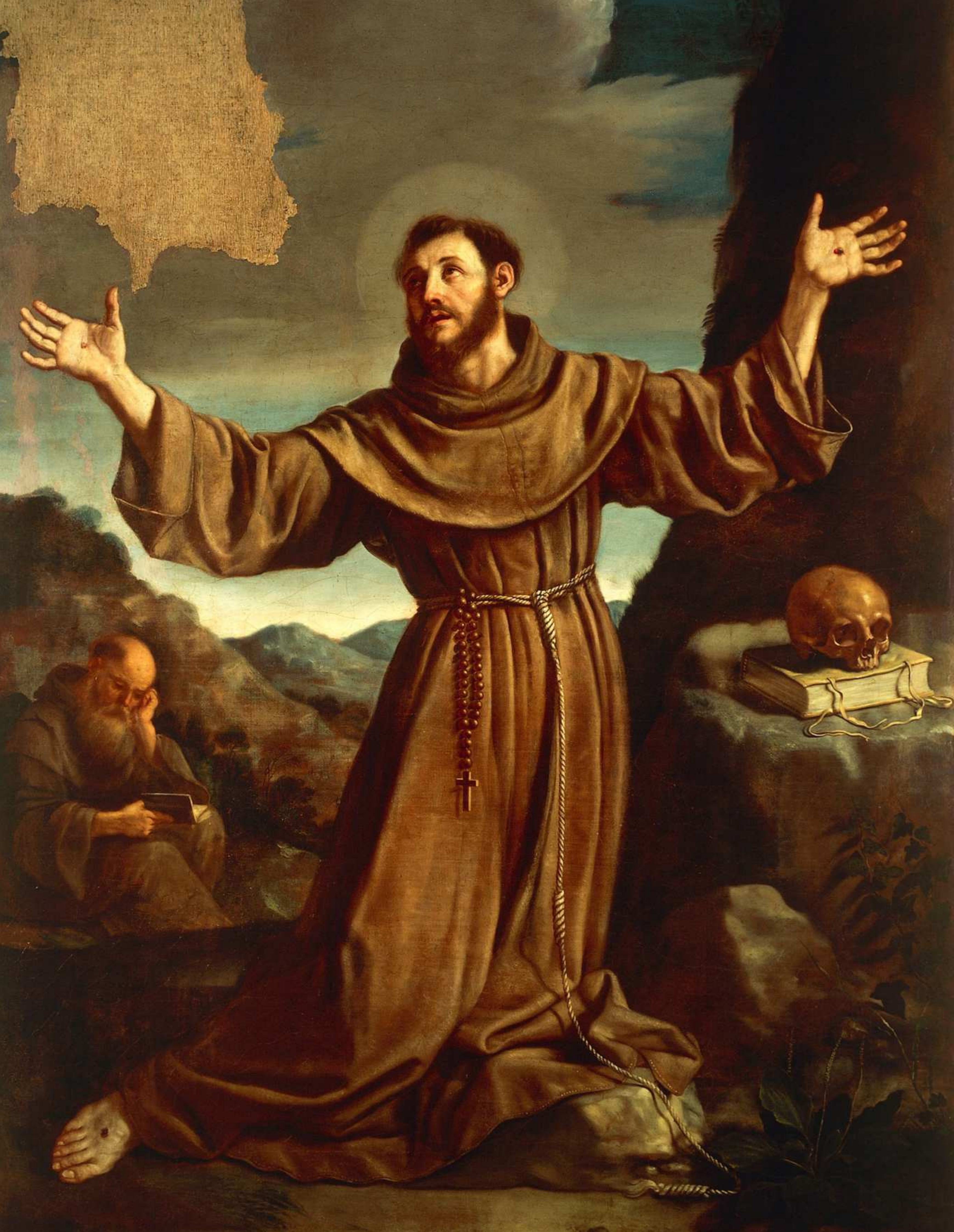


THE ORIGINS OF THE INQUISITION

Before the barbarity of the Spanish Inquisition, the Catholic Church's earliest counter-strikes against the threat of heresy cast dark clouds over Europe. This is the story of the first medieval inquisitions...

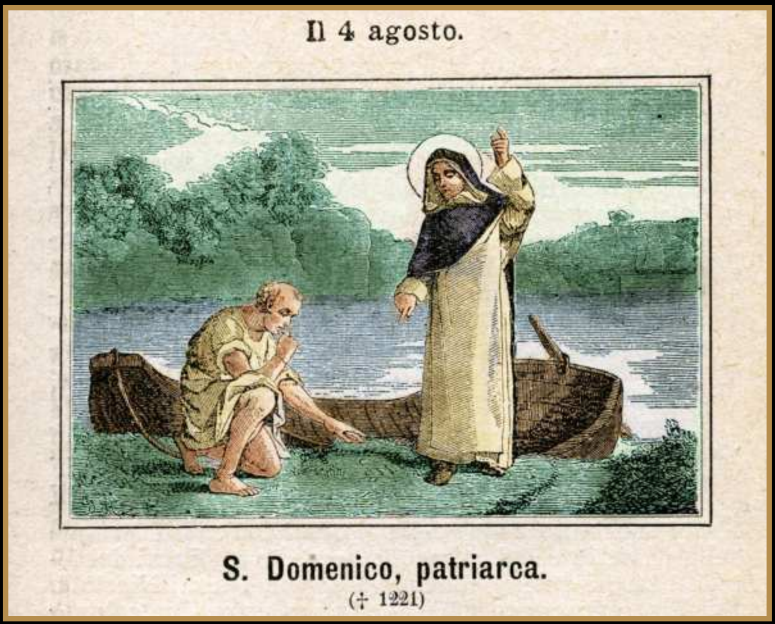
Written by Henry Yates

As an institution whose roots can be traced back to the early 2nd century - and a socio-political monolith that would come to dominate every facet of medieval life - the Roman Catholic Church would increasingly be called upon to deal with pockets of spiritual dissent over the passing centuries. Now, as then, heresy has a steady definition, set out by the Code of Canon Law as "the obstinate denial or doubt after the reception of baptism of some truth which is to be believed by divine and Catholic faith". Yet the Church's attitude towards the wayward religious sects of Europe would change dramatically - and darken considerably - over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Individual heretics were of no great import to the Church. More troublesome were the growing number of influential heretical figureheads, such as the vocal French preacher of the early 12th century Peter of Bruys, who publicly voiced his opposition to the baptism of infants, the building of new churches, the worship of the cross and prayers for the dead in the southern provinces of Daupiné and Languedoc.

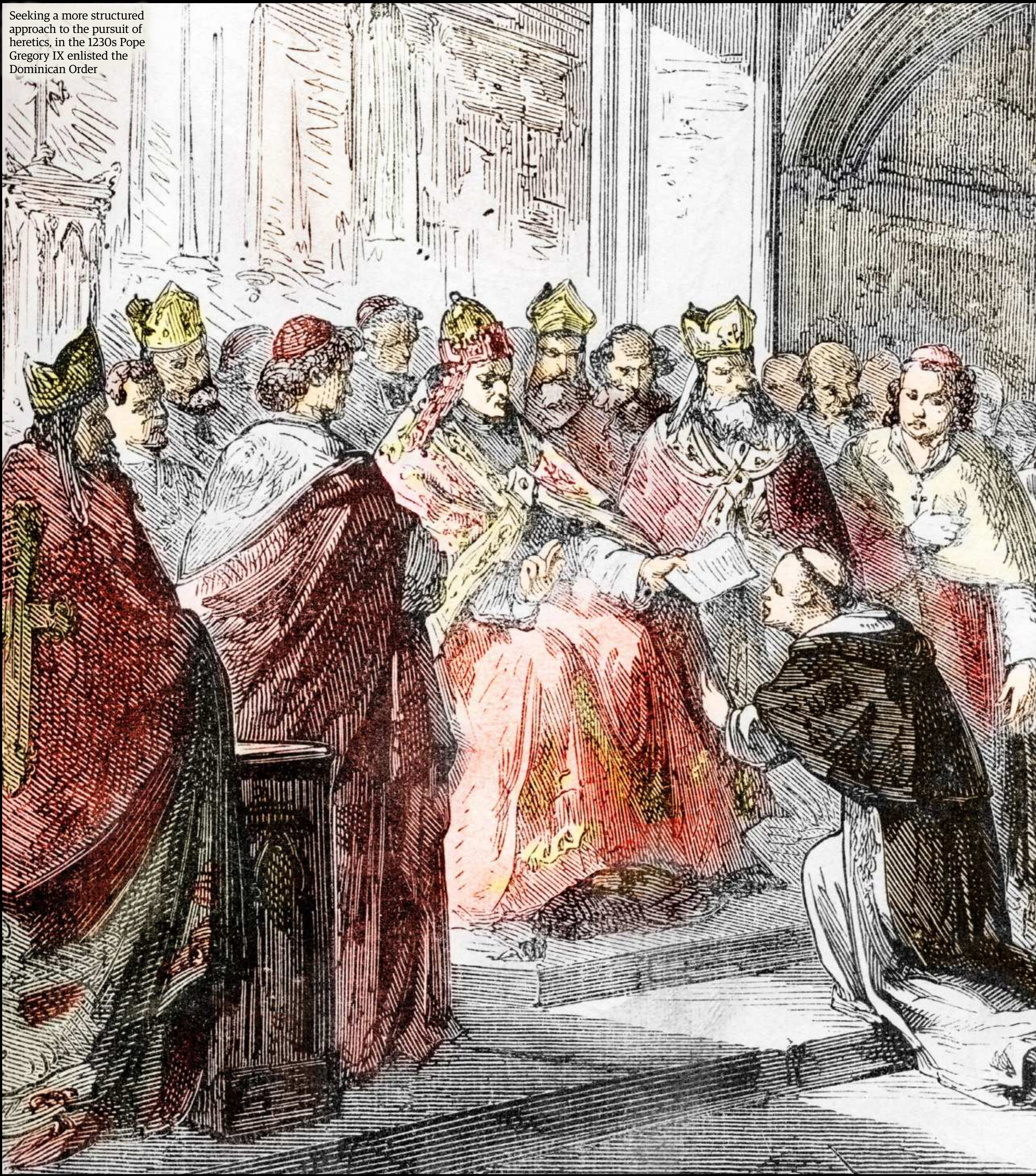
Even faced with such brazen provocation, for now, the Church largely stayed its hand. In any case, when it came to Bruys, there was no need: while burning crosses in the commune of St Gilles in 1131, the outspoken priest would be hurled onto his own bonfire by an angry Catholic mob. As the Primitive Baptist Library of Carthage, Illinois, writes, "This intrepid reformer finally sealed his testimony with his blood."

In times gone by, the Church and its missionaries had treated heretics as lost souls to be saved rather than sinners to be hunted down and viciously corrected. But with the pope becoming an increasingly frontline figure in the fight against heresy as the 12th century unfolded, the Catholic stance on renegade sects hardened to granite in November 1184.

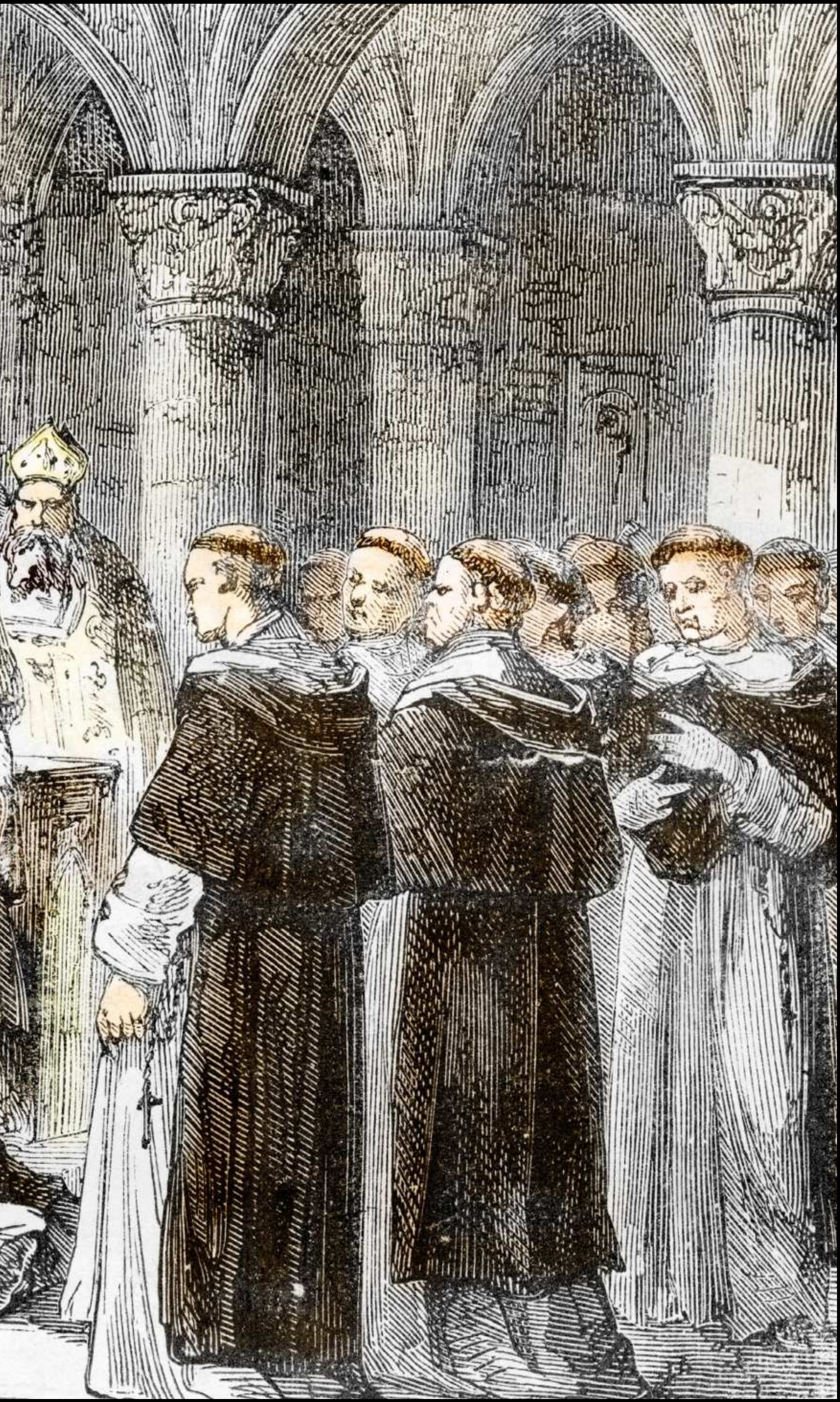

Il 4 agosto.
S. Domenico, patriarca.
(✝ 1221)

LEFT Saint Francis of Assisi founded the Franciscan Order

RIGHT Dominic of Caleruega was the founder of the Dominican Order, who would become feared overseers of the Inquisition



Seeking a more structured approach to the pursuit of heretics, in the 1230s Pope Gregory IX enlisted the Dominican Order



Elected three years earlier at Velletri, Pope Lucius III's seismic Ad abolendam papal bull – its title translating as 'towards abolishing' – represented a strategy to counter the growing threat of non-Catholic Christian practices that was at once theologically motivated, politically astute and highly practical for a body seeking to assert its iron rule.

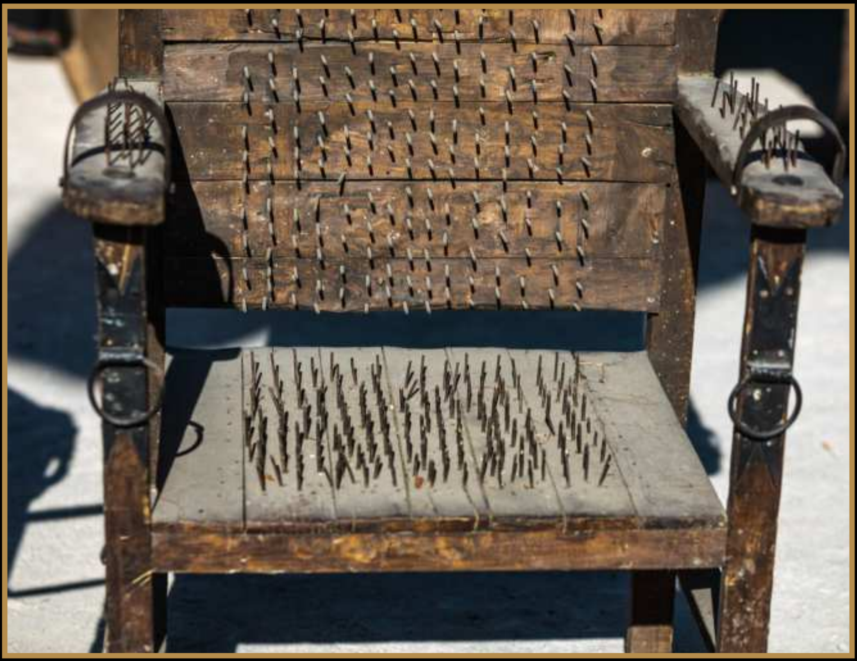
"Ad abolendam condemned all beliefs and practices incompatible with the teachings of the Roman Church, and excommunicated dissenters," writes the Polish historian Pawel Kras in his book *The System of the Inquisition in Medieval Europe*. "Excommunication applied to all who favoured or supported heretics."

"The Inquisition – in this early form – was not necessarily intended to harm"

The most important strand of Pope Lucius' papal bull was to establish the first of the medieval inquisitions, known as the Episcopal Inquisition (so-called because it was administered by bishops, or an 'episcopus' in Latin). Contrary to our modern perception of cruelty above all else, the Inquisition – at least in this early form – was not necessarily intended to harm. In fact, the guiding principle was to better comprehend the factors that led an individual to lapse from Catholic orthodoxy and return them to a righteous path. "The Inquisition was not born out of desire to crush diversity or oppress people; it was rather an attempt to stop unjust executions," writes the historian Thomas Madden. "The simple fact is that the medieval inquisition saved uncounted thousands of innocent (and even not-so-innocent) people who would otherwise have been roasted by secular lords or mob rule."

The Episcopal Inquisition had many moving parts. By dividing responsibilities between the clergy (who were tasked with verifying charges and correcting heretics) and secular officers (who assigned punishments for those who would not recant their wayward beliefs), Ad abolendam demanded synergy across every strata of Catholic society.

"Heresy charges could be reviewed by ecclesiastical courts alone," writes Kras. "Individuals suspected of heresy had to prove their innocence through a procedure called canonical purgation. Heretics who demonstrated contrition and declared themselves willing to reconcile with the Church had their sentence of excommunication lifted and were given appropriate penance. By contrast, those who defended their views obstinately or returned to heresy in spite of an earlier reconciliation were to be excommunicated and handed over to the secular authorities."



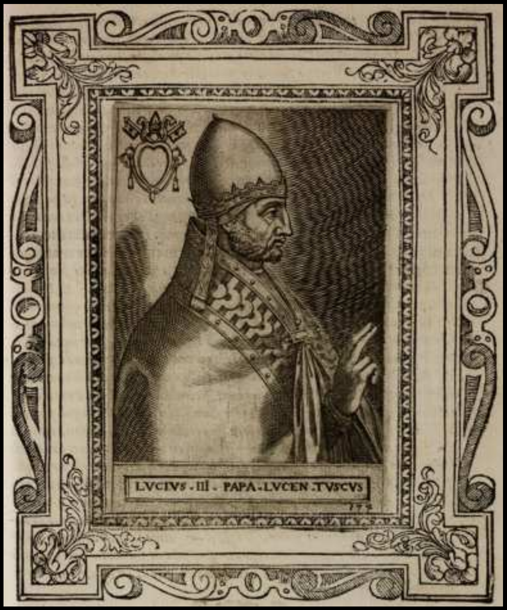
LEFT
A torture chair of the type used by medieval inquisitors. To add to a heretic's agony, the steel nails could be heated from below

BOTTOM LEFT
In 1184, Pope Lucius III issued the Ad abolendam papal bull that would lead to the first Episcopal Inquisition

BOTTOM RIGHT
The heretic preacher Peter of Bruys – a thorn in the Church's side in the early 12th century – is burnt by a Catholic mob

No heretical sect was spared condemnation in Ad abolendam, with the Humiliati, Arnoldists and Josephines all singled out. (It should also be noted that the consequences were severe for public figures perceived not to throw their support behind the papal bull, with counts, barons, rectors and others threatened with excommunication and the seizing of their territories). But of most pressing concern, and the chief impetus behind the decree, were the Cathars (a religious movement first acknowledged in southern France around the 1140s) and the Waldensians (whose influence in northern Italy was unacceptable to the Church by 1170).

Believed to have been founded by returning crusaders who fell under the sway of the Bogomil sect of Byzantine Bulgaria, the Cathars subscribed to dualism – the notion that one benevolent God had formed the spiritual world while a second nefarious deity had created the material world – and rejected the physical realm to the point of poverty and near-starvation. Just as alarming to the Church, the Cathars' refusal to take oaths put them at odds with the religious homogeny of the age. As covered in more detail elsewhere in these pages, in 1209, Pope Innocent III began a punishing 20-year campaign against the renegade sect, known as the Albigensian Crusade.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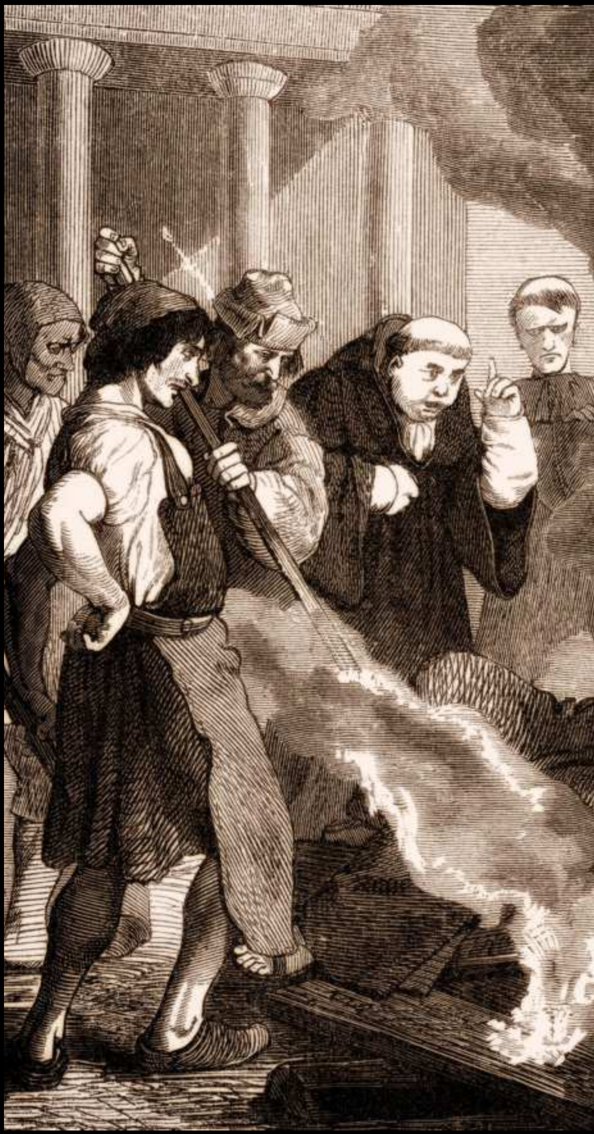
However, as Mark Cartwright of World History writes, the Church would ultimately find the pen mightier than the sword in the annihilation of the Cathars. "The Cathars were not wiped out [by the Albigensian Crusade] and their churches and institutions continued in the region, albeit on a reduced scale. An inquisition was launched but its aim was to convert through argument, not violence; one of its effects being the establishment of a university at Toulouse in 1229. This intellectual approach was slower but far more successful than the crusades and by the first quarter of the 14th century the Cathars ceased to exist as an organised and distinct body of believers."

Originating in the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region of France, meanwhile, the Waldensian movement was also a thorn in the Church's flesh that demanded plucking. Born in 1140, and believed to have been at one time a wealthy merchant, Peter Waldo had renounced his possessions and begun preaching in 1170, alarming the ecclesiastical authorities with his lack of theological training and his translation of the Bible from its original Latin text. Condemned by the archbishop of Lyon and called to Rome for an audience with Pope Alexander III that ended in an impasse, the Waldensians had further enraged the Church by rejecting some of the seven sacraments, the use of indulgences, and even the notion of purgatory and the offering of prayers to the dead.

Perhaps most dangerous of all, the Waldensians shunned the veneration of saints and questioned the sacramental authority of the clergy. From the movement's epicentre, represented by Waldo and his followers – dubbed the 'poor of Lyon' – arms of the Waldensian movement were soon detected in northern France, Flanders, Spain, Germany, southern Italy and even Eastern European enclaves like Hungary and Poland.

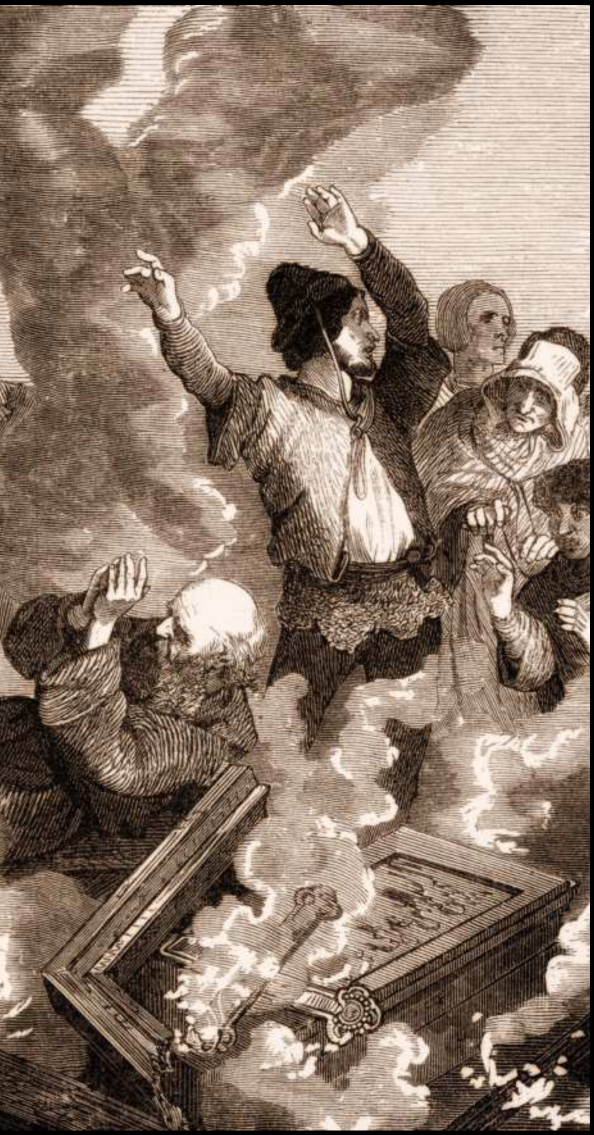
For the Church, this proliferation could not stand. Pope Lucius' Ad abolendam of 1184 had already excommunicated the Waldensians. By the turn of the century, Pope Innocent III began turning words into brutal deeds; in 1211, over 80 members of the sect were burnt at the stake in Strasbourg, and with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 officially labelling the group as heretics, the Waldensians would know no peace for years to come. As for Waldo, he would be mockingly immortalised as a gargoyle on Lyon Cathedral, depicted as an empty-headed charlatan shouting into the heavens rather than kneeling before God.



> *"The Dominican friar Robert Le Bougre cut a swathe through the ranks of heretics in northern France, sending 183 unbelievers to the flames in a single week"*

The Episcopal Inquisition had been intended as a coordinated strike against heresy, yet in practice, the Church's opening salvo had often been haphazard. With individual bishops responsible for heresy in their own diocese, and each taking a different line, there was little uniformity and no clear means for the Church to gauge progress. With the rise to power of Pope Gregory IX and the advent of his Papal Inquisition of the 1230s, however, the Church became ever more rigorous and precise in its pursuit of heretics.

Where the bishops had failed, Gregory drew a number of dedicated papal inquisitors from the ranks of the Dominican and Franciscan preaching orders and posted these friars around Europe to counter heretic movements by any means necessary.



Established in 1209 by the mystic Italian friar Francis of Assisi, the Franciscan Order's extreme degree of observance made them a natural choice for the pursuit of heretics. Founded in Toulouse by the Spanish priest Dominic of Caleruega, and approved by Pope Honorius III in December 1216, the Dominican Order is today celebrated for its intellectual tradition, due to the association with such famed scholars as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Yet the Papal Inquisition would give the Dominicans far darker connotations. Not for nothing was the order's name adapted to 'domini canes' (translation, God's dogs) and slathering canine statues placed on church roofs across Europe to mark their involvement in the nightmarish years ahead.

The process of inquisition was often only as violent as the heretic was resolute. In principle, a swift confession could result in a mild sentence, with more serious punishments ranging from life imprisonment to the seizure of possessions. But in the more likely event that a heretic refused to acquiesce, the physical consequences knew no limits. The first handbook of Inquisitorial practice was issued in around 1248, and four years later Pope Innocent IV sanctioned his envoys to torture with impunity. In dimly lit, blood-streaked chambers across the towns of Europe, this was a licence seized with both hands by the papal inquisitors, with heretics given a slender chance to recant their spiritual crimes before the era's most ghoulishly inventive torture methods began.

Most often, the inquisitors' opening gambit was to stuff their victims' mouths with cloth so as to muffle the agonised shrieks. Torture sessions could routinely last four hours. "The thumbscrew was usually the first to be applied," writes the Swiss historian Walter Nigg. "The fingers were placed in clamps and the screws turned until the blood spurted out and the bones were crushed.

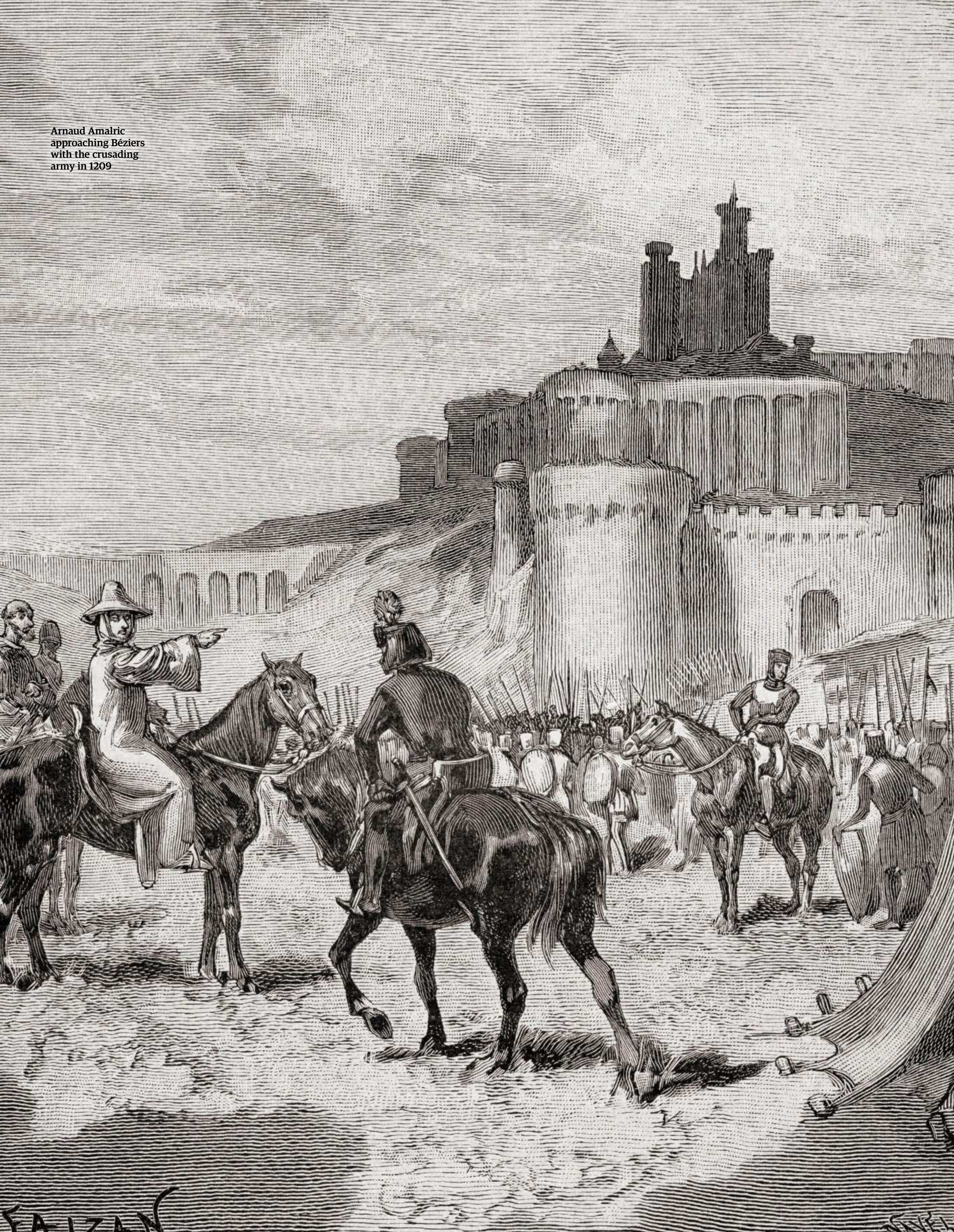
"The defendant might be placed on the iron torture chair," he continues, "the seat of which consisted of sharpened iron nails that could be heated red-hot from below. There were the so-called 'boots', which were employed to crush the shinbones. Another favourite torture was dislocation of the limbs on the rack or the wheel on which the heretic – bound hand and foot – was drawn up and down while the body was weighted with stones. During the procedure, the instruments were frequently sprinkled with holy water."

Peter Waldo was the leader of the heretic Waldensian sect who awoke the Church's ire in the late 12th century

For those heretics who held out in the face of such agonies, an existing papal statute prescribed burning at the stake. Priests would delegate this task to civil officers in order to remain one step removed from the blood-letting. Even so, many of the Church's inquisitors carved themselves into the annals for the brutality of their methods. The Dominican friar Robert Le Bougre cut a swathe through the ranks of heretics in northern France, sending 183 unbelievers to the flames in a single week, while in Germany, Conrad of Marburg employed the stake almost indiscriminately, often without even hearing the defendants' cases, and lived by the maxim that "I would burn one hundred innocents if there was one guilty amongst them."

The first chapters of the Catholic Church's crackdown on heresy had been terrifying, yet the Inquisitions would only grow more feverish and less morally disciplined in the years ahead. Soon to alight on myriad atrocities – from the imprisonment and torture of thousands of members of the Knights Templar in 1307 to the barbaric murder of Joan of Arc in 1431 – and with the malevolent buzz of the Spanish Inquisition growing deafening by 1478, the 'abolition' cited by Pope Lucius III's earth-shaking papal bull was becoming a reality faster than anyone had hoped or feared. In time it would come to consume the lives of countless more souls.

Images: Getty Images; Alamy



Arnaud Amalric approaching Béziers with the crusading army in 1209

CRUSHING THE CATHARS

Concerned by a perceived wave of heresy sweeping across southern France, Pope Innocent III launched a brutal campaign that led to widespread slaughter

Written by Callum McKelvie

From 1209 to 1229, medieval France became the site of a brutal campaign of slaughter and destruction. The Catholic Church was increasingly concerned about the popularity of Catharism, a Gnostic movement that flourished in southern France and northern Italy. When the papal legate sent to suppress the Cathars was murdered, Pope Innocent III launched a savage crusade to destroy these 'heretics' once and for all. This crusade would lead to a wave of destruction across France, with the Cathars' ultimate extinction coming at the hands of the Inquisition.

Catharism began in the Languedoc, a region in southern France. Also known as 'Albigensians', due to many of its followers living in the city of Albi, the Cathars were a dualist religion and believed that there were two gods, one good and one evil. The former was the creator of the spiritual realm, while the latter had dominion over the Earth, and as such they viewed the material world as evil. While the Cathars followed the teachings of Jesus as the basis for how to live a spiritually fulfilling life, they rejected the eucharistic notions of the Catholic Church and the concept of Jesus having been human. To them he was a purely spiritual being.

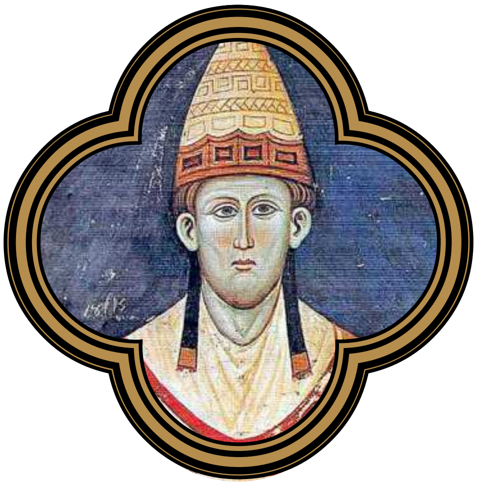
Cathar priests were known as perfecti, or perfects, lived a strict life of celibacy and were pescatarian, meaning they were not allowed to consume animal products, including cheeses, eggs and fats, with the exception of fish. Additionally, they had other occupations through which they could financially support themselves, a decision aimed at preventing the faith being monetised. Some 50 per cent of the perfecti were female (known as perfectae) and unlike in Catholicism were able to preach their belief. Also, unlike Catholicism, which delivered its biblical teachings exclusively in Latin, preachers of Catharism were instead happy to preach in the language of the people, perhaps explaining why the religion spread so quickly.

Many of these ideas and concepts were highly offensive to the Catholic Church. Additionally, the growing popularity of Catharism began to concern Pope Innocent III, as it was thought that, if something was not done, then it could potentially replace Catholicism as the dominant religion in Europe. Innocent III dispatched his papal legate, Pierre de Castelnau, to speak to the Count of Toulouse, Raymond VI. The count was considered to not be treating the Cathars firmly enough and allowing heresy to thrive on his lands. As a result, in May of 1207, he had been excommunicated.

De Castelnau met with Raymond in 1208 but the occasion quickly turned frosty. On his return to Rome following the meeting Pierre de Castelnau was ambushed by an assassin and stabbed by a sword between his ribs. As he lay dying he is alleged to have murmured repeatedly, "May God forgive you, even as I forgive you." Raymond VI was immediately blamed for de Castelnau's death by Innocent III, though it was never actually proven that he had played any

part. However, this appears to have been the moment that Innocent III had been waiting for. De Castelnau was now a martyr whose death was to be avenged and the heretics behind it wiped out completely.

In order to achieve this, Innocent III unleashed a crusade against the Cathars and attempted to enlist the support of Philip Augustus, King of France. Although Augustus declined, he did allow several of the country's more powerful barons and landowners to participate. Widespread support was guaranteed by a papal decree, which stated that the lands of the supposed heretics once confiscated by the crusaders could then remain in their possession. Many French lords in the south immediately became disturbed by this; while they themselves may not have been Cathars, a direct threat had now been placed on their lands by the Pope.



Arnaud Amalric (also known as Arnaud Amaury), the leader of the Cistercian Order and the abbot of Cîteaux, was chosen to be the man in charge of the crusade. In 1209 he assembled his troops and by the summer of that year had begun to push slowly into the Languedoc. One of the key knights on the crusade was Simon de Montfort, who had taken part in the Fourth Crusade in Jerusalem, notably being involved in the Siege of Zara.

The first major battle and the first key victory for the crusading army came in July of 1209 at Béziers, a city in the Occitanie region, which had become a major stronghold for the Cathars. The army easily captured the city, after which a brutal

LEFT The walls of the city of Carcassonne, attacked in 1209 as part of the Albigensian Crusade

INSET A depiction of Pope Innocent III, who began the Albigensian Crusade

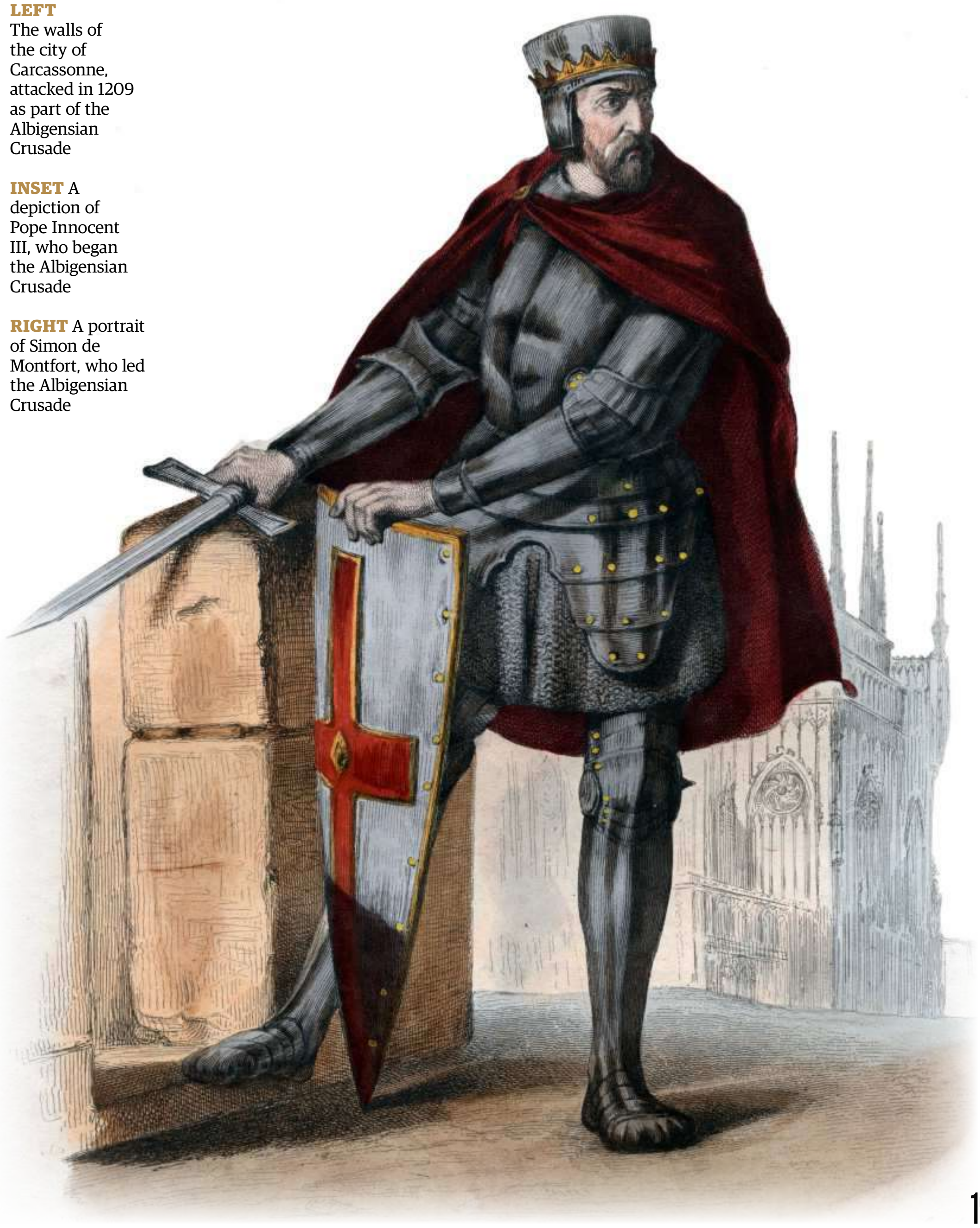
massacre took place, with some sources stating that up to 20,000 people were slaughtered. Amalric, when asked how his troops could differentiate between the Cathars and Catholics, is famously said to have stated, "Kill them all, God will know his own."

Following the brutality at Béziers, Amalric marched his army 45 miles to Carcassonne. Unlike Béziers, this was a formidable fortress of a town, well defended and prepared after the horrific violence that had consumed the former city. For over two weeks the crusaders laid siege to the town, cutting off its access to the river that supplied fresh water. Finally, terms for a surrender were agreed. The inhabitants could all leave Carcassonne with their lives. However, they were instructed to do so wearing only their undergarments, or as one contemporary chronicler put it, "carrying nothing but their sins", leaving all personal belongings for the crusaders. It was a savage episode in the conflict that demonstrated the greed of the crusading knights.

"It was a savage episode in the conflict that demonstrated the greed of the crusading knights"

In 1209, following the fall of Carcassonne, and just a year after the crusade had begun, a slew of important towns surrendered without conflict, including Albi, from which the Albigensians took their name. De Montfort was chosen as the new leader of the crusade, but Amalric still yielded a great deal of power and remained deeply committed to its cause, accompanying the crusaders in their subsequent battles. With a harsh winter drawing ever closer, de Montfort slowed the campaign. With many of his crusaders returning home, he was obliged to concentrate his forces on retaining the land they had already conquered. By spring of the next year, with a fresh force of crusaders at his disposal, he marched his army toward Lastours. The town of Minerve, although not strategically important, was treated particularly brutally, with de Montfort under pressure from Amalric to enact a harsh punishment. Some 140 'heretics' were burnt at the stake.

According to Nils Visser, the crusade at this point had become "a blatant attempt by de Montfort and Amaury to dispossess Raymond VI",



RIGHT A portrait of Simon de Montfort, who led the Albigensian Crusade

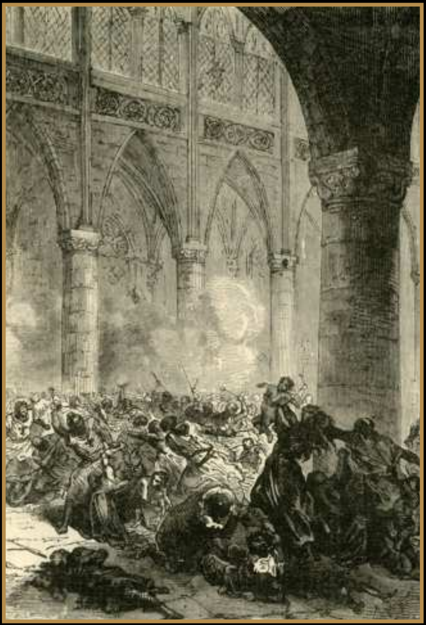
MASSACRE AT BÉZIERS

The bloody opening to the Albigensian Crusade led to the slaughter of 20,000 inhabitants at Béziers

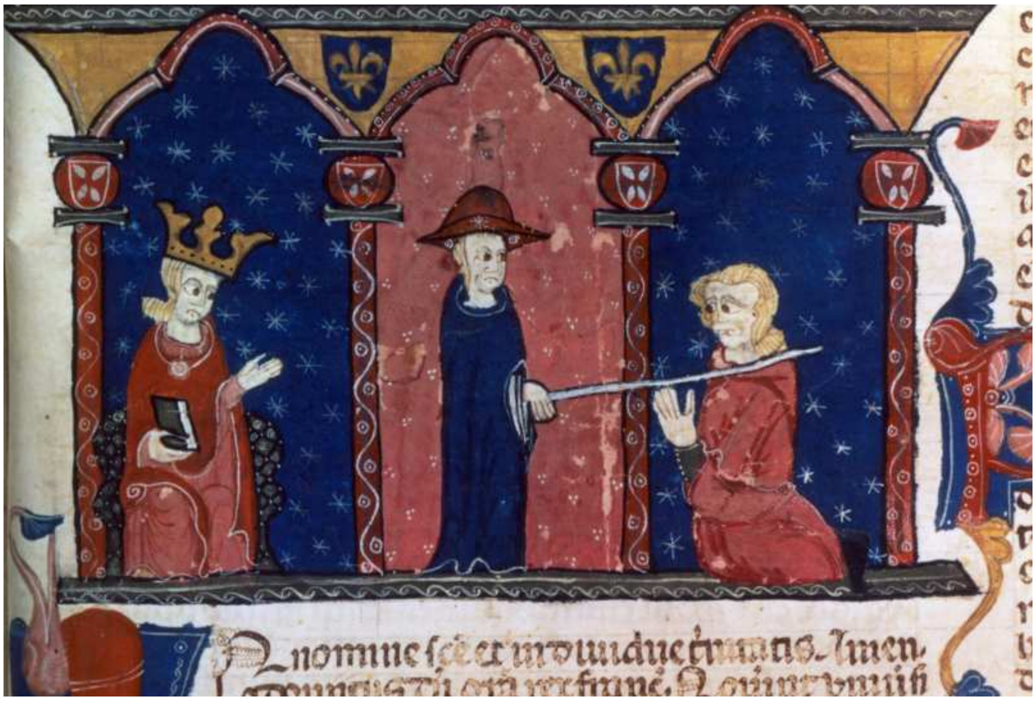
On 21 July 1209 the crusaders, led by Arnaud Amalric, the Abbot of Cîteaux, arrived at the city of Béziers. The city was placed under siege, and when the defenders left their positions in an attempted sortie, they were forced back. Seeing their chance, a group of mercenaries hired by the crusaders, also known as routiers, forced their way into the city. They ran through the streets, killing mercilessly and stealing whatever they could find as those outside finally broke the city's defences. The mercenaries found the churches where the innocent were hiding in terror and slaughtered all inside – men, women and children. The knights forced the mercenaries to hand over their takings, and in retaliation the mercenaries ignited fires around the city.

At one point during the onslaught the abbot of Cîteaux is said to have been asked by a monk how the crusaders could discern Cathars from Catholics. The abbot responded coldly, "Kill them all, God will know his own."

Following the barbarous attack the crusaders fled the now-raging fires. Anyone who didn't manage to escape perished in the flames. In all, some 20,000 people are said to have been massacred within the city.



A depiction of the chaos and slaughter during the Massacre at Béziers in July 1209



with Amaury attempting to declare himself Duke of Narbonne, as well as its abbot, in 1212. The Cathars now sought assistance from King Peter II of Aragon, the brother-in-law of Raymond VI. Peter had previously attempted to convince Pope Innocent to intervene, pointing out the sheer carnage the crusaders were unleashing. Realising that his attempts were coming to nothing, Peter arrived in Toulouse, took charge of all forces and marched on Muret, a fortified town. Despite the vast forces of the Albigensian coalition, chaos struck when Peter was killed. The battle was another victory for de Montfort, one that left the rebelling armies in confusion and forced both Raymond VI and his son, Raymond VII, to flee to England in 1214.

"Some 200 perfects refused to submit to the demands of the Catholics and were burnt on a vast pyre"

In 1215, de Montfort was able to take Toulouse. The town was gifted to him, and he was even named the Count of Toulouse. But for the crusaders, trouble was on the horizon. By 1216 Raymond VI and his son had cobbled together a force out of the survivors and begun a rebellion designed to take back the lands that had been lost to them. They had some success, humiliating Simon by recapturing Toulouse. De Montfort laid siege to the city for several months, seemingly determined to win back his prize and perhaps his pride. However, no man was indestructible, and according to historian Christine Caldwell, on 25 June 1218, he was killed by a rock to the head. This was purportedly fired by a group of women using a catapult, as legends state that much of the artillery during the battle was operated by batteries of women.

For the following decade, the crusade appears to have become something of a war between feuding families. Simon's son, Amaury de Montfort, led several armies alongside Prince Louis as his father Philip refused to be personally involved. In 1222, Raymond VI died and his son Raymond VII became count. King Philip II died the following year, but his successor, King Louis VIII, continued the fight against the Cathars, leading a new expedition to Languedoc in 1226.

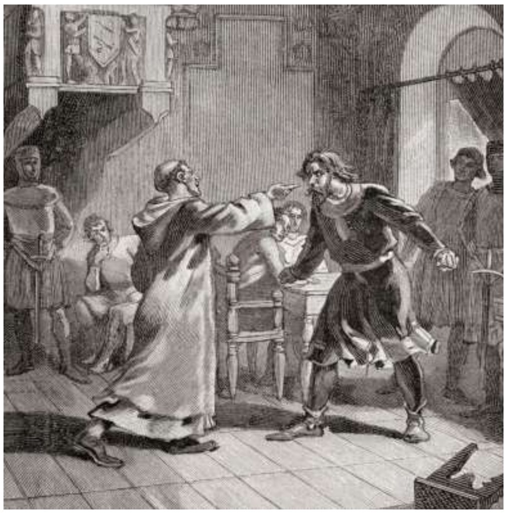
LEFT Raymond VII receiving absolution from King Louis IX of France following the Treaty of Paris

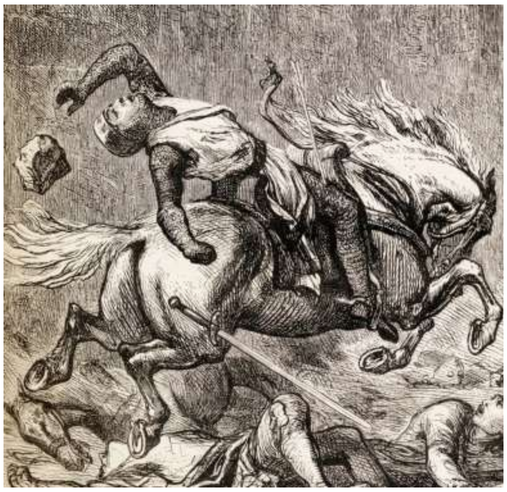
BELOW LEFT The ruins of Montségur Castle as they stand today

FAR RIGHT During the fall of Carcassonne the inhabitants were allowed to live as long as they fled with nothing but their undergarments

ABOVE RIGHT Pierre de Castelnau chastising Raymond VI for not persecuting the Cathars in his lands

BELOW RIGHT Simon de Montfort is killed after being hit by a rock during the Siege of Toulouse in 1218





He would perish in that same year, making his 12-year-old son, Louis IX, king. For two more years the war would drag out, with historian Helen J Nicholson stating the crusaders used "a scorched-earth policy so that the Albigensians' resources were gradually destroyed".

In 1229, the Treaty of Paris officially brought the conflict to an end. Under its terms Raymond VII was to give over half of his lands, pledge to quell any further rebellion, and his daughter was to marry Louis' brother.

Despite the military campaign having ended, Pope Gregory IX was aware that there were still pockets of Cathars within France. By 1233, the Grand Inquisition had been established, its role to eliminate all heretics. In the Languedoc, the Dominican Order was placed in charge. Perceived heretics faced two choices they could repent and would then be punished and face charges such as a pilgrimage, or they could deny the heresy. If this occurred they would be tortured, imprisoned and lose their personal belongings and property. If, even after this ordeal, they refused to repent, then they would be burnt at the stake.

During this period Montségur Castle became a stronghold for Cathars fleeing the flames of the Inquisition. From May 1243 to March 1244 the castle was placed under siege, with some 400 people suspected to have been sheltering within its walls. On 2 March 1244, those inside surrendered. If they swore an oath to the Church and submitted to questioning by the Inquisition, then they would be allowed to go free. However, if they refused to recant then they would be burned as heretics. Some 200 perfects refused to submit to the demands of the Catholics, and on 16 March they were burnt on a vast pyre erected outside of the castle walls.

Following this event, there was little refuge for any remaining Cathars. Many were betrayed by their families, as happened to Peter Garcias, who confided in his cousin over dinner only to have a curtain whipped back to reveal his testimony being transcribed. Bernard of Caux and John of St Pierre headed this brutal clampdown, managing to obtain the services of perfects who allowed fugitives to shelter in their homes and immediately handed them over to the forces of the Inquisition. Although there was still resistance the Inquisition proved too strong, and even figures such as Raymond VII became vicious towards the heretics, burning them even after they had confessed and repented.

Quéribus, the final Cathar stronghold, which had been managing to hold out despite the forces massing against it, eventually fell in August 1255 and all remaining Cathars were forced to go into hiding to evade the Church's clutches.

During the 1290s the powers of the Inquisition were limited by King Philip IV, but they returned when he became disturbed by rising anti-monarchist sentiment. In 1308, Bernard Gui became the inquisitor of Toulouse. He would imprison suspected heretics for many years in order to obtain a confession, noted by the historian James Given as an interrogation technique that reached back to the early days of the Inquisition's role in the Languedoc. Under Gui, Catharism was essentially wiped out.

There are aspects of the Albigensian Crusade that continue to divide historians. Indeed, at the beginning of the 21st century, historians such as RI Moore and Mark Pegg questioned whether Catharism existed as an organised religion at all or whether there were multiple groups of dualists in the south of France. However, the crusade itself seems almost universally considered an extraordinarily brutal campaign, excessive in its use of terror and violence. In his article *The Albigensian Crusades: Wars Like Any Other?*, Malcolm Barber stated "the unavoidable collective impression is that this was a conflict in which all the normal conventions of warfare in the early thirteenth century were abandoned."

Images: Getty Images; Alamy

BETRAYAL OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

In seven years the Order was hunted, dismantled and executed. Was this justice for their sacrilegious practices, or were they the victims of a twisted plot?

Jacques de Molay was calm. Through seven long years of accusations, trials, torture, denials and confessions, he had been anything but calm, but as the frail, bearded man was led out onto the Île aux Juifs on the Seine, he did not weep or tremble. A crowd had gathered to watch the old man die, and a pyre had been erected on the small island, ready to be lit and claim his soul. De Molay was stripped of the rags that were once clothes, down to his threadbare shirt, then the guards strapped his thin, pale body to the stake. Finally, the silent man spoke. He asked to be turned to face the cathedral of Notre-Dame and that his hands be freed so he could die in prayer. These requests were granted, and De Molay bowed his head in silent prayer as the pyre was lit. The flames grew fast, and as the tongues of fire lashed up around his body, he spoke once more, his voice rising above the crackle of the flames.

"God knows who is in the wrong and has sinned!" he proclaimed. "Misfortune will soon befall those who have wrongly condemned us; god will avenge our deaths. Make no mistake, all who are against us will suffer because of us!" The flames rose higher, but the pain did not tell on his face. "Pope Clement, King Philip - hear me now!" his voice roared. "Within a year you will answer for your crimes before the presence of god!" After these final words De Molay fell silent, and the flames claimed his soul.

Before the year was over, Pope Clement and Philip IV were dead. Clement finally succumbed to a long illness on 20 April 1314, and the French king died after a hunting accident on 29 November 1314, aged just 46. De Molay's order was all but extinct, but the curse of the last Grand Master of the Knights Templar would live on in infamy.

Jacques de Molay's famous last words may not have actually been spoken by the Grand Master himself. Like so many aspects of the Knights Templar, they have been distorted by myth and legend, and today we just don't know if he cursed his betrayers with his dying breath. Thanks to their sudden and dramatic fall, an array of rumours, myths and conspiracies have persisted about the mysterious order, obscuring their true humble beginnings and devastating end that rocked 14th-century Europe.

After the city of Jerusalem was captured by Christian forces in the First Crusade, many European pilgrims chose to make the journey to the Holy Land. However, this route was not safe for Christians to travel along, so several knights charged themselves

KEY FIGURES

The men who destroyed the Order, and those who fought to defend it

Jacques de Molay

1243 – 18 MARCH 1314

The 23rd and last Grand Master of the Knights Templar. Little is known of De Molay's early life, but he subsequently became the most well-known Templar. He aimed to reform the Order, a goal he was never able to fulfil.

Philip IV of France

1268 – 29 NOVEMBER 1314

Also known as the Iron King, Philip led France from a feudal country to a centralised state. He had great belief in an all-powerful monarchy, and it was his ambition to fill thrones worldwide with his relatives. As well as destroying the Knights Templar, he also expelled Jews from France.

Pope Clement V

1264-1314

Born Raymond Bertrand de Got, Clement was made pope on 5 June 1305. There is some dispute over his loyalty to Philip IV, with some painting him as nothing but a tool for the French king, while others believe he showed surprising resistance. Either way, he is now remembered as the pope who suppressed the Knights Templar.

Guillaume de Nogaret

1260–1313

Keeper of the seal to Philip IV of France, Guillaume had previously played a role in the dispute between Philip and Pope Boniface, apparently persuading the king to kidnap the pope. He also had a central part in the fall of the Knights Templar, forcing members to give testimony against the Order.

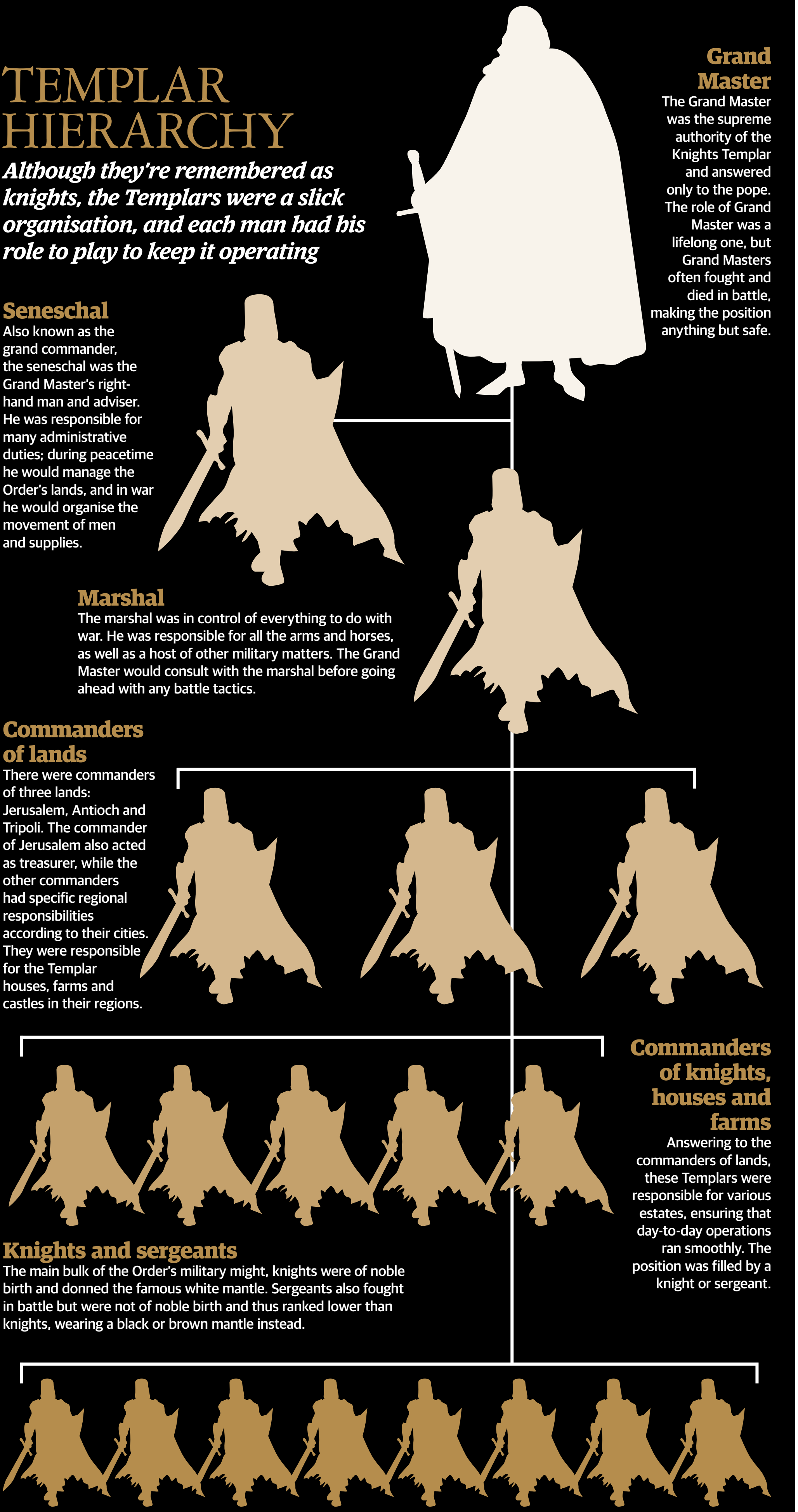
Geoffroi de Charney

UNKNOWN – 1314

Serving as preceptor of Normandy, Charney was a member of the Knights Templar from a young age and rose through the ranks. Like much of his order, he was arrested, tortured and confessed to various charges, then later retracted his statement. Charney was the only one of the three senior leaders arrested to rally by his master's side and deny the charges.

TEMPLAR HIERARCHY

Although they're remembered as knights, the Templars were a slick organisation, and each man had his role to play to keep it operating



Grand Master

The Grand Master was the supreme authority of the Knights Templar and answered only to the pope. The role of Grand Master was a lifelong one, but Grand Masters often fought and died in battle, making the position anything but safe.

Seneschal

Also known as the grand commander, the seneschal was the Grand Master's right-hand man and adviser. He was responsible for many administrative duties; during peacetime he would manage the Order's lands, and in war he would organise the movement of men and supplies.

Marshal

The marshal was in control of everything to do with war. He was responsible for all the arms and horses, as well as a host of other military matters. The Grand Master would consult with the marshal before going ahead with any battle tactics.

Commanders of lands

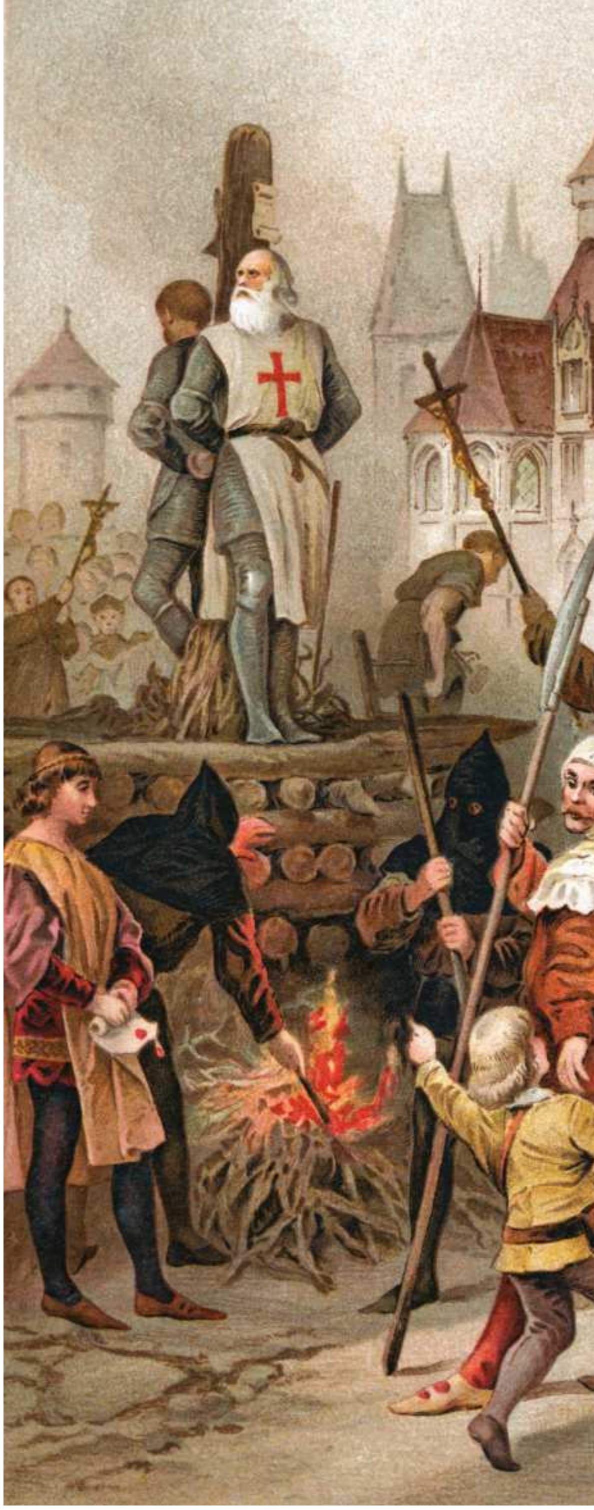
There were commanders of three lands: Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripoli. The commander of Jerusalem also acted as treasurer, while the other commanders had specific regional responsibilities according to their cities. They were responsible for the Templar houses, farms and castles in their regions.

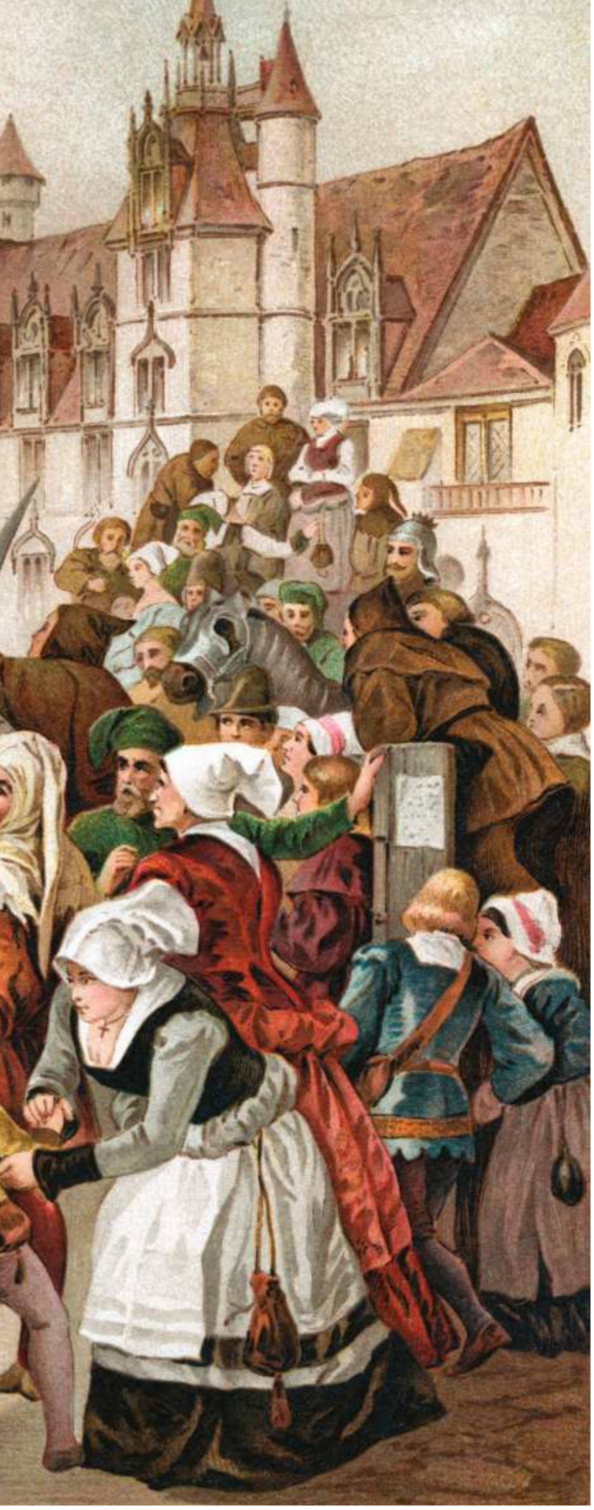
Commanders of knights, houses and farms

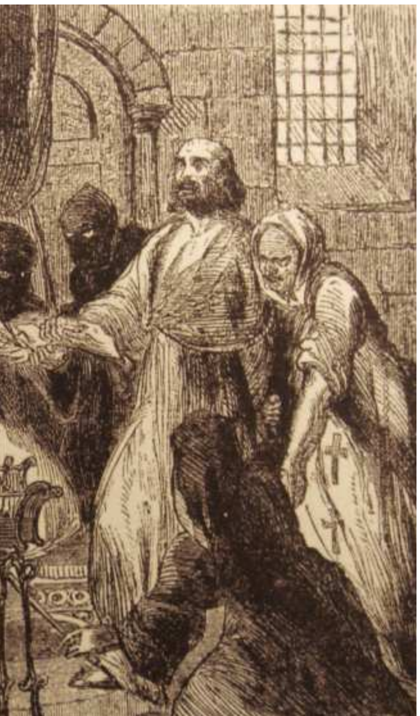
Answering to the commanders of lands, these Templars were responsible for various estates, ensuring that day-to-day operations ran smoothly. The position was filled by a knight or sergeant.

Knights and sergeants

The main bulk of the Order's military might, knights were of noble birth and donned the famous white mantle. Sergeants also fought in battle but were not of noble birth and thus ranked lower than knights, wearing a black or brown mantle instead.







TOP Hundreds of Templars were burned at the stake on the orders of Philip IV of France

LEFT De Molay was forced to sign a letter asking all Templars to confess to the charges

with protecting the roads from robbers and brigands. This guild of knights was founded on Christmas Day 1119 on the spot that marks the place where Jesus was crucified. As their headquarters were located on the Temple Mount, they became known as 'Knights of the Temple', or the Knights Templar.

Although the Order began in virtual poverty, relying on donations to survive, it quickly became one of the most powerful monastic orders in the medieval world. With papal approval, money, land and eager young noblemen poured into the Templars' resources. Serving as the West's first uniformed standing army in their white tunics emblazoned with a fiery red cross, the Templars achieved legendary status in battle. This reputation as god's warriors was encouraged by their victory at the Battle of Montgisard, where 500 Templars helped an army numbering a few thousand defeat 26,000 of Saladin's soldiers.

As well as being a mighty military force, they also controlled a vast financial network, which has been recognised as the world's first modern banking system. Many nobles who wished to join the crusades placed their wealth under the control of the Templars, who then issued them with letters of credit. This could be used at Templar houses around the world to 'withdraw' their funds. By the 13th century, the Templars were one of the most powerful and wealthy organisations in the world, entirely unaware that a dramatic and terrible fate awaited them. However, it would not be the Muslims in the East who would bring about their downfall but their fellow Christians in the West.

After the fall of Acre in 1291, the West lost its last Christian possessions in the Holy Land. The Templars were cast out from the lands they'd once protected and lost their raison d'être. When Jacques de Molay ascended as Grand Master in 1293, he had one goal in mind – to reclaim what the Templars had lost. De Molay travelled across the West to rustle up support; he received it from Pope Boniface and Edward I of England. But the crusade was a disaster, and De Molay lost 120 knights trying to land in Syria. In 1306, the Templars supported a coup in Cyprus that forced Henry II to abdicate in favour of his brother.

These actions did not go by unnoticed. Many monarchs in countries with powerful Templar presences began to feel uneasy . With their power, what was to stop the Templars supporting baronial uprisings in their own territories? The Templars had also been very vocal in their desire to form their own state, similar to Prussia's Teutonic Knights and the Knights Hospitaller, another Catholic military order in Rhodes.

In 1305, De Molay received a letter from Pope Clement V, then based in France, concerning the possibility of merging the Templars with the Hospitaller. De Molay was ardently against the idea, but in 1306 Clement invited both Grand Masters to France to discuss the issue further, instructing them to "come hither without delay, with as much secrecy as possible".

De Molay arrived in 1307, but Foulques de Villaret, the leader of the Hospitaller, was either delayed or sensed something was amiss, as he did not arrive, and while the pope and De Molay waited, an entirely different subject of discussion was raised. Two years previously, an ousted Templar had accused the Order of many criminal charges, and although they were generally believed to be false, King Philip IV of France had recently brought them back into discussion. De Molay, tiring of the ludicrous accusations, asked Clement to look into the matter to rid him of the whole messy situation. On 24 August, Clement wrote to Philip, saying that he did not believe the accusations but would start an inquiry "not without great sorrow, anxiety and upset of heart," and advised Philip to take no further action. Philip did not listen. At dawn on Friday 13 October, the king's forces arrested every Templar they could find in France.

Philip IV's harsh actions were not unprecedented; he had a reputation as a rash and violent king. Philip had previously clashed with Pope Boniface VIII and launched an anti-papal campaign against him. Believing France should have centralised royal power, the feud escalated and ended with Philip attempting to kidnap the pope in 1303 to bring him to France to face charges of heresy. The shock ultimately killed Boniface, whose successor, Benedict XI, was then only in the position for nine months before his own death. This allowed the king to appoint his selection, Clement, to the papacy. Philip had also previously arrested wealthy Italian bankers in the city, stripping them of their assets; then his target switched to the Jews,

Holy Grail

The Holy Grail is perhaps the item that the Templars are most closely associated with. From Wolfram von Eschenbach's medieval romance *Parzival* to Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code*, throughout history the Templars have been linked to the mysterious relic. Often in fiction the Templars are portrayed as the guardians of the cup that Jesus used in the Last Supper, or even a deep and dramatic secret. Interestingly, the city in which the Templars were launched, Troyes, is also the place that the very first grail romance was written. Any actual link between the Templars and the grail likely emerged due to the fact that stories of the grail began to become popular in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the Templars were at the height of their power. Although they were part of society, the Templars were shrouded in secrecy even in their day, so it is no wonder such a mysterious vessel was linked to the Order.

IN NUMBERS

20,000

members at their peak

54+

Templars burned to death in May 1310

15 witnesses gave evidence against the Order before 12 May 1310 - compared to 198 after

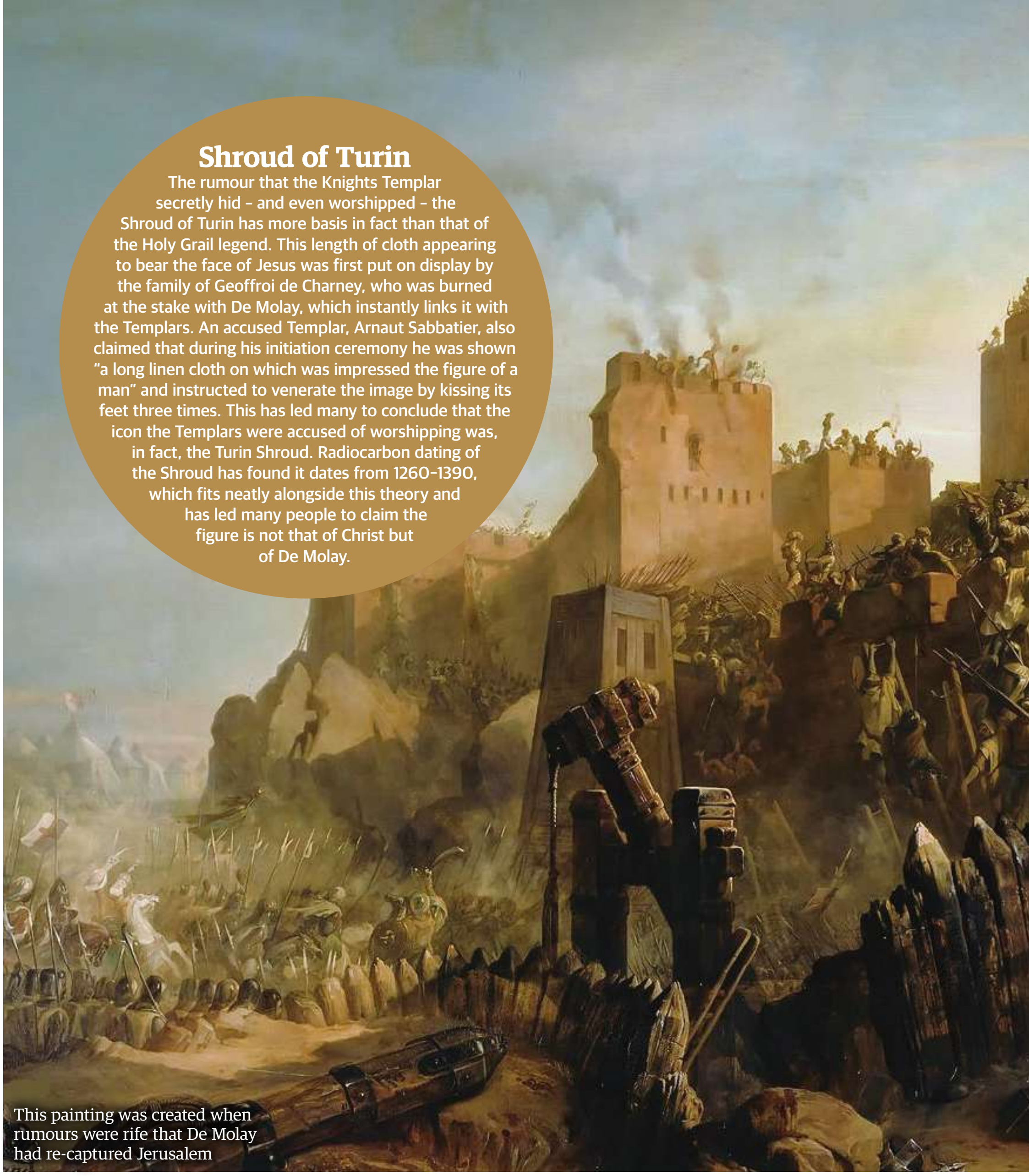
597

witnesses defended the Order before 12 May 1310 - compared to 14 after

9 knights were originally gathered to protect pilgrims

200,000

livres paid by the Knights Hospitallers to the French king as 'compensation'



This painting was created when rumours were rife that De Molay had re-captured Jerusalem

Shroud of Turin

The rumour that the Knights Templar secretly hid - and even worshipped - the Shroud of Turin has more basis in fact than that of the Holy Grail legend. This length of cloth appearing to bear the face of Jesus was first put on display by the family of Geoffroi de Charney, who was burned at the stake with De Molay, which instantly links it with the Templars. An accused Templar, Arnaut Sabbatier, also claimed that during his initiation ceremony he was shown "a long linen cloth on which was impressed the figure of a man" and instructed to venerate the image by kissing its feet three times. This has led many to conclude that the icon the Templars were accused of worshipping was, in fact, the Turin Shroud. Radiocarbon dating of the Shroud has found it dates from 1260-1390, which fits neatly alongside this theory and has led many people to claim the figure is not that of Christ but of De Molay.

who were thrown out of the kingdom, a common occurrence throughout Europe during the Inquisition.

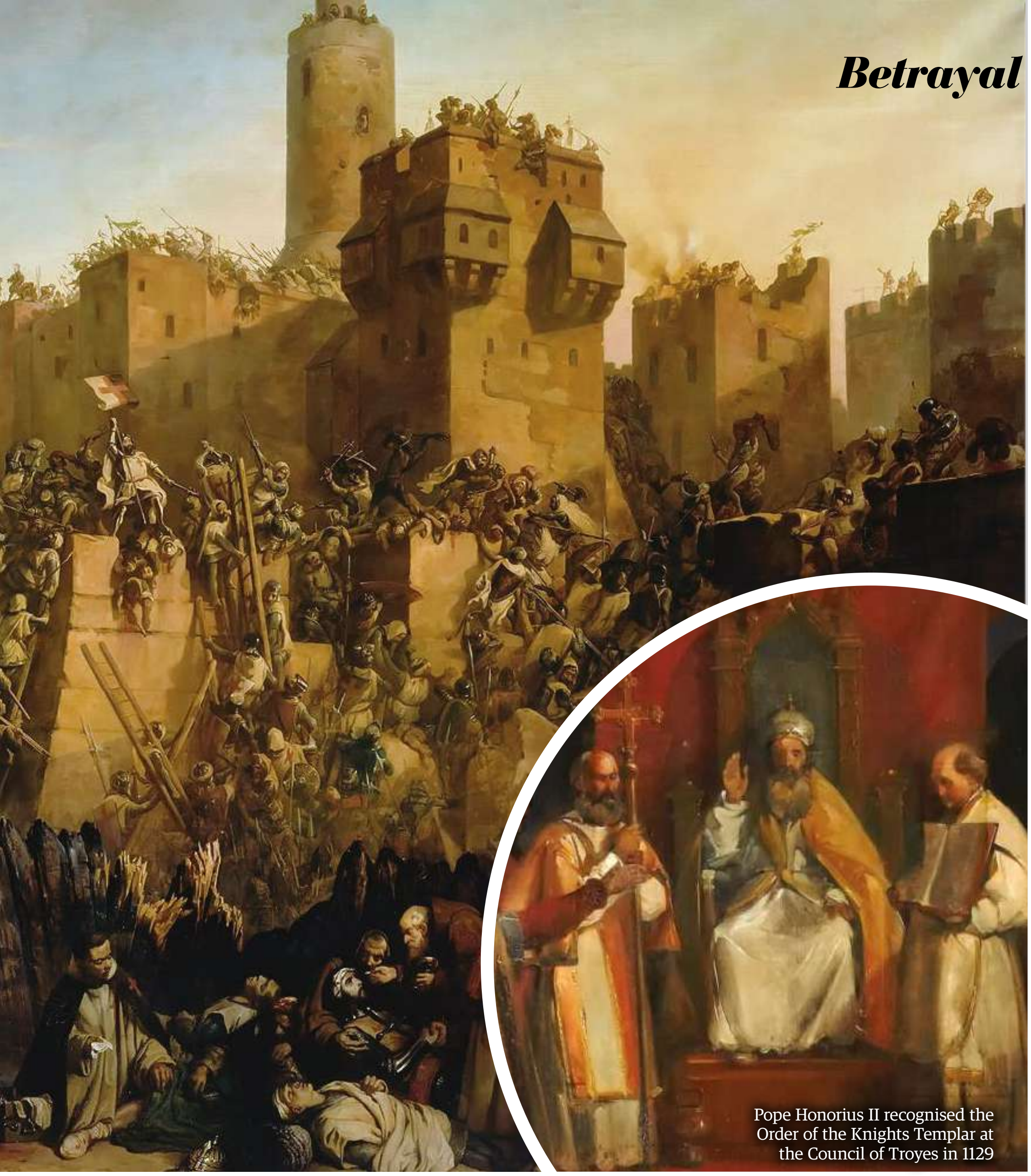
These actions can be easily explained - Philip had inherited a kingdom on the brink of financial crisis, and he also believed that his authority was above that of the pope. Not only did he owe the Templars a great deal of money, but their link to the Church made them the perfect choice for establishing the power of the monarchy. With their plans to form their own state, the Order had unwittingly sealed their own fate. The Templars had to fall in order for Philip to rise.

When the Templars in France were arrested, the charges put against them were heresy, sodomy, blasphemy and denying Christ. By charging them with heresy, Philip could paint himself as a soldier of Christ, similar to that of his sainted grandfather Louis IX. But his actions were a violation of the Church and Rome's orders, and Clement was furious. Philip had likely believed the pope to be a frail and infirm old man and certainly not a threat, but Clement wrote angrily to Philip, accusing him of violating every rule in this "act of contempt towards the Roman Church".

This did little to help the brothers of the temple. Some 15,000 Templars now resided in the prisons of France, many of whom were not nobles or knights but mere farmers and shepherds. De Molay didn't escape capture either; just a day after acting as pallbearer at the funeral of the king's sister-in-law, the Grand Master was arrested along with the rest of his order. Philip seized their land and property and set about ensuring he obtained the confessions he needed to smash the Order to pieces.

There was one very simple way of acquiring confessions, and Philip employed it to great success: torture. Philip's inquisitors utilised a variety of horrific and demoralising methods to break a man's will. The rack, which stretched a victim's body and dislocated his joints, was frequently used, as was strappado, which involved binding a victim's hands with rope that ran up a pulley, raising him in the air, then dropping him rapidly. The soles of prisoners' feet were greased then set alight with flame, teeth were pulled and limbs were flayed. The men were confined to cold, dark cells, and those who did not survive the torture were secretly buried. One anonymous writer in 1308 wrote of the conditions in the cells: "The human tongue cannot express the punishment, afflictions, miseries, taunts, and dire kinds of torture suffered by the said innocents in the space of three months, since the day of their arrest, since by day and night constant sobs and sighs have not ceased in their cells, nor have cries and gnashing of teeth ceased in their tortures... Truth kills them, and lies liberate them from death."

It is of no surprise that when the Templars were brought to trial, many confessed to the various offences put against them. The Order was faced with five initial charges: the



Pope Honorius II recognised the Order of the Knights Templar at the Council of Troyes in 1129

renouncement of and spitting on the cross during initiation; the kissing of the initiate on the navel, mouth and posteriors; the permitting of homosexual acts; that the cord they wore had been wrapped around an idol they worshipped; and that they did not consecrate the host during mass. During the trials, the charges against the Templars grew in number, ranging from burning infants to abusing virgins and even forcing young brethren to eat the ashes of the dead. Although these charges seem outrageous and somewhat farfetched today, Philip was operating at a time when paranoia and suspicion surrounding god and the devil was so rife that it could be reasonably believed that such devilish practices had infiltrated the Church.

In hearings presided over by the inquisitors who had overseen the torture, 134 of 138 brothers confessed to one or more of the charges. De Molay himself signed a confession after undergoing the flaying of his limbs and testicles. This was quickly followed by matching confessions from all senior members of the Order. However, when Clement insisted the confessions be heard before a papal committee, De Molay and his men did an about turn. Safely away from Philip's control, De Molay retracted his confession, claiming he only gave it initially due to the torture he suffered. The other Templars followed suit, and Philip's plans for a swift and brutal end to the Order vanished.

In an attempt to convince Clement, Philip visited him at Poitiers and sent 72 Templars to confess before him. He had his forces dispense pamphlets and give speeches concerning the depravity of the Templars. Philip warned that if the pope didn't act he would have to be removed in order to defend Catholicism. Harangued, bullied and now under virtual house arrest, Clement gave in and ordered an investigation into the Templars. De Molay and the other senior members retracted their retractions and Philip's grand plans were in motion once again.

The Templars had nothing in the form of legal council; De Molay expressed desires to defend his order but was unable to as a "poor, unlettered knight". In 1310, two Templars with legal training made an impressive defence against the charges, insisting that the Templars were not only innocent but also at the sharp end of a cruel plot. The tide was

THE TEMPLARS ACROSS EUROPE

When the pope ordered Christian monarchs across Europe to arrest Templars, not all were willing

British Isles

Edward II was initially sceptical about the Templars' guilt and had no reason to view them as a threat. He wrote to the pope in defence of the Order but was eventually forced to arrest and try many Templars. Initially, torture was not allowed and all the Templars pleaded innocent, but when the pope's inquisitors took over confessions came fast. However, they were spared burning and simply forced to repent publicly. Those who refused were incarcerated until death.

Italy

The situation in Italy varied. The Papal States unsurprisingly acted at once, but in Lombardy there was widespread support for the Order. For the number of Templars confessing to the accusations, there were just as many claiming that the others were lying. In Florence, despite using torture, only six out of 13 Templars confessed.

Cyprus

King Amaury de Lusignan had earned his crown thanks to the Templars, so he was understandably reluctant to arrest them. However, the leading Templars were eventually incarcerated after putting up a brave resistance. At trial there were many witnesses who praised the Templars, but the king was murdered during the trial and Henry II, enemy of the Templars, regained the throne. Torture began almost immediately and many perished while protesting their innocence.

Portugal

The Templars in Portugal got off lightly compared to their counterparts elsewhere. King Denis I refused to persecute the Order but could not overrule the papal bull to abolish the Templars. Instead, the Templars re-branded themselves as the 'Order of Christ' with the assured protection of Denis I, who also negotiated with Clement's successor for the Order to inherit the Templars' assets.

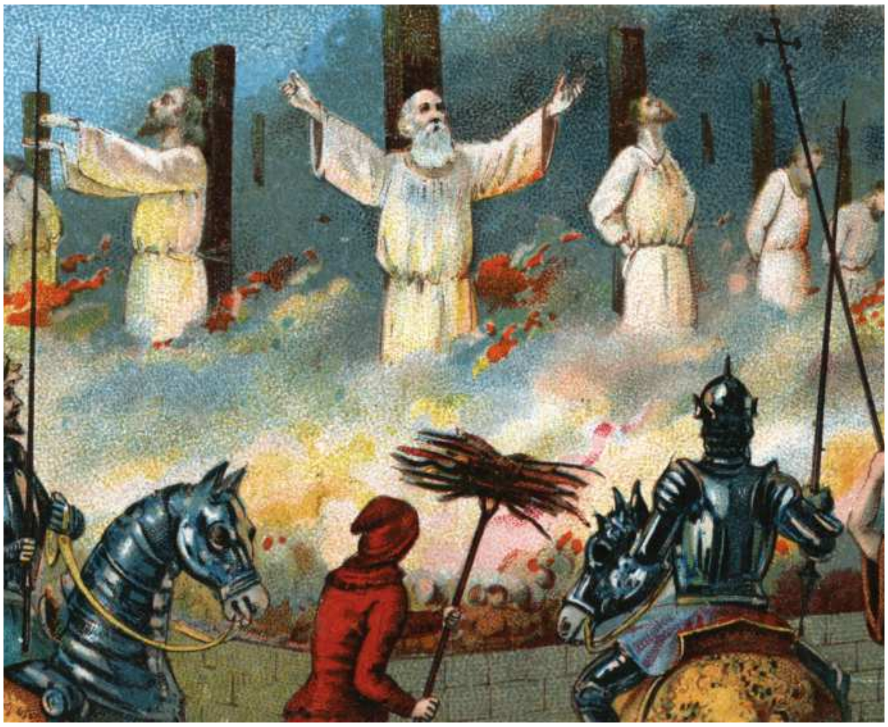
Iberian Peninsula

Despite initial doubts, James II of Aragon ordered the arrest of most of the Templars on 6 January 1308, before the pope ordered him to do so. However, many of the Templars set up defences in their castles and appealed for help, which unfortunately did not come. All of the Templars pleaded their innocence. With torture prohibited no confessions were secured, and no Templar was condemned to death for heresy.

GUILTY OR INNOCENT?

Was there any truth to the charges levelled against the Knights Templar?

	FOR	AGAINST
SPITTING ON THE CROSS	Although often written as one of Philip's many trumped-up charges, there is evidence that this accusation had basis in fact. Not only did a number of Templars confess to it, but Philip's spies, who secretly joined the Order, confirmed it. A recent discovery of the 'Chinon Parchment' in the Vatican library further validates the charges. Under questioning in 1308, Jacques de Molay admitted to such practices.	Although De Molay confirmed that spitting on the cross took place, chalking this up to heresy shows a lack of understanding. De Molay said these practices were designed to harden a Templar to the torture he would be subjected to by Saracens, training them to deny their faith "with the mind only and not with the heart". Philip's spies may very well have witnessed such acts, but they likely misunderstood their purpose.
WORSHIP OF AN IDOL CALLED BAPHOMET	The charge put against the Templars read, "They surrounded or touched each head of the idols with small cords, which they wore around themselves next to the shirt or the flesh." Unlike Philip's other charges, this accusation was so specific to the Templars that it's difficult to believe he didn't have some inside information. Many knights did admit to worshipping this idol, which usually took the form of a life-sized head. We know for a fact that the Knights Templar possessed heads, such as the head of St Euphemia of Chalcedon. The fact that the Order kept these heads means that they certainly could have worshipped them in some way.	Only nine Templars in the Paris trials admitted to head worship, and descriptions of this 'idol' differed across Europe. In one version it was "covered in old skin, with two carbunkles for eyes". In another it was made of gold and silver; one had three or four legs, while in another account the head had horns. These conflicting accounts heavily indicate that these confessions were the result of torture. This idol was allegedly named 'Baphomet', but it may be the case that this was a mistranslation of 'Mahomet', i.e. Muhammad. Either way, if the Templars did indeed worship such an idol, it seems unusual that their temples were not filled with clear symbols of this figure.
HOMOSEXUALITY	The charges the Templars faced were that "they told the brothers whom they received they could have carnal relations together… that they ought to do and submit to this mutually". As the Templars took vows of celibacy and were not permitted to wed, it was believed that they engaged in homosexual activity to satisfy their desires. Although few confessed, many testified that sexual activity was not prohibited. The fact that so many denied it under torture is an indication of just how shamefully sodomy was viewed, giving the Templars all the more reason to hide the truth.	This was the most common accusation used during this era to discredit or ruin anyone. Philip had already charged Pope Boniface VIII with very similar accusations, and it seemed to be his favourite tool to use against his enemies as it was difficult to disprove. However, despite the torture, only three Templars confessed to sodomy in the Paris trials. Although De Molay was quick to confess to denying Christ, he vehemently opposed this accusation, stating that the Templar rules clearly prohibit any such behaviour with harsh punishment, such as expulsion from the Order.

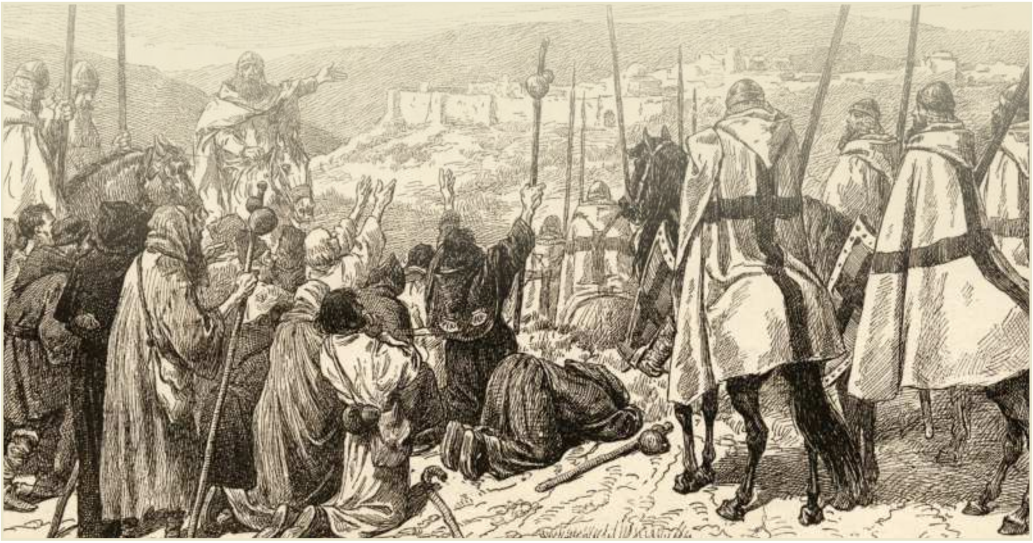


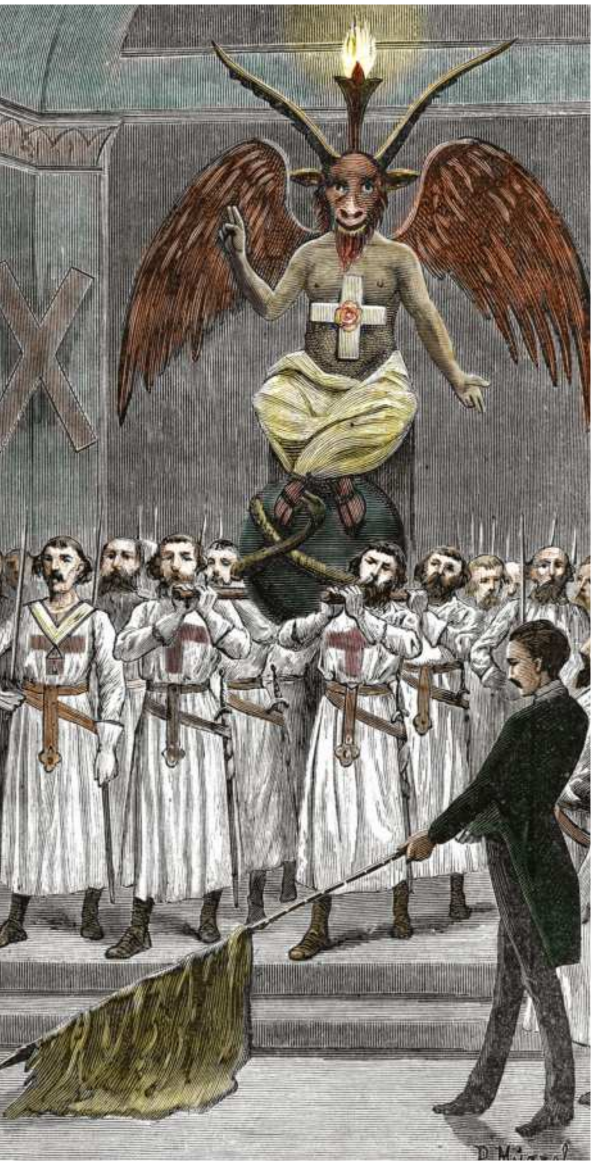
LEFT Templars would often advance ahead of the troops in key battles of the Crusades

RIGHT Pilgrims risked being robbed and slaughtered on their journey to Jerusalem

BELOW LEFT According to legend, as he burned at the stake, Jacques de Molay cursed King Philip IV

BELOW The Templars were accused of worshipping a pagan idol called Baphomet





beginning to turn in the Templars' favour, so Philip made a swift and brutal decision. On 12 May 1310, 54 Templars who had previously withdrawn their confessions were burned at the stake as relapsed heretics and the two Templar defenders disappeared from prison.

With nobody to defend them, the Templar case crumbled. Under extreme pressure from Philip and likely wishing to rid himself of the whole matter once and for all, Clement issued an edict that officially dissolved the Order. This didn't mean the brothers were guilty, but it was the end of the Knights Templar for good. Much to Philip's annoyance, a second papal bull was issued that transferred the Templars' wealth to the Hospitaller. Finally, the bull Considerantes Dudum allowed each province to deal with the Templars residing there as they saw fit. The fate of the leaders, however, was in the hands of the Church.

De Molay and three of his senior members languished in prison, awaiting news of their fates. Finally, on 18 March 1314, the leaders were led out to a platform in front of Notre Dame to hear their sentences. All four were old men; De Molay was, by now, at least 70, while the others ranged from 50 to 60. Due to their earlier confessions, they were found guilty of heresy and condemned to life imprisonment. Two of the men silently accepted their fate, but faced with living out the rest of his life starving in a dank, dark cell as the last leader of a humiliated and disgraced order, De Molay finally found his voice. To the shock of the crowd and the horror of the cardinals, the Grand Master and his loyal master of Normandy, Geoffroi de Charney, loudly protested their innocence. They denied their confessions, insisting their order was nothing but holy and pure. During seven years of imprisonment, De Molay had failed to defend his order. Now he was doing it with his life.

This was completely unexpected and left the cardinals confused about what to do. When the news reached Philip, he was furious. He ruled that as the Templars were now professing their innocence, they were guilty of being relapsed heretics, the punishment for which was death. Before the end of the day, De Molay and De Charney were dead. Instead of living out his final days in disgrace, De Molay's act of bravery led many to hail him as a martyr.

The remaining Templars were not released from their monastic vows and many were subjected to penances such as lengthy prison sentences. Others joined the Knights Hospitallers, and some were sent to live out their remaining days in monasteries. Even with these numbers accounted for, there are still questions over what happened to the tens of thousands of brothers across Europe. The Order's archive was never found along with the majority of their treasures, leading many to believe that the Templars received some sort of warning, allowing many to escape prior to the initial arrests.

Various conspiracy theories regarding the fate of the remaining Templars have been concocted, from the proposition that they escaped on a fleet of ships to western Scotland to them becoming Swiss freedom fighters. Although we do know the sad tale that ended the Order, the mystery of what became of the surviving Templars will likely never be solved.

French Revolution

When Louis XVI was executed by the guillotine at the height of the French Revolution, according to some sources a man jumped up onto the platform and dipped his fingers in the blood. He then cried out "Jacques de Molay, thus you are avenged!" Then the crowd cheered. The legend that the Templars would enact revenge upon the French monarchy who had damned them was a popular rumour at the time, so speculation that they played a key part in starting the French Revolution was rife. This legend works alongside the idea that the remaining Templars went underground to continue their work in secret, so it relies on quite a leap of faith. But nevertheless, Jacques de Molay did indeed have his revenge.

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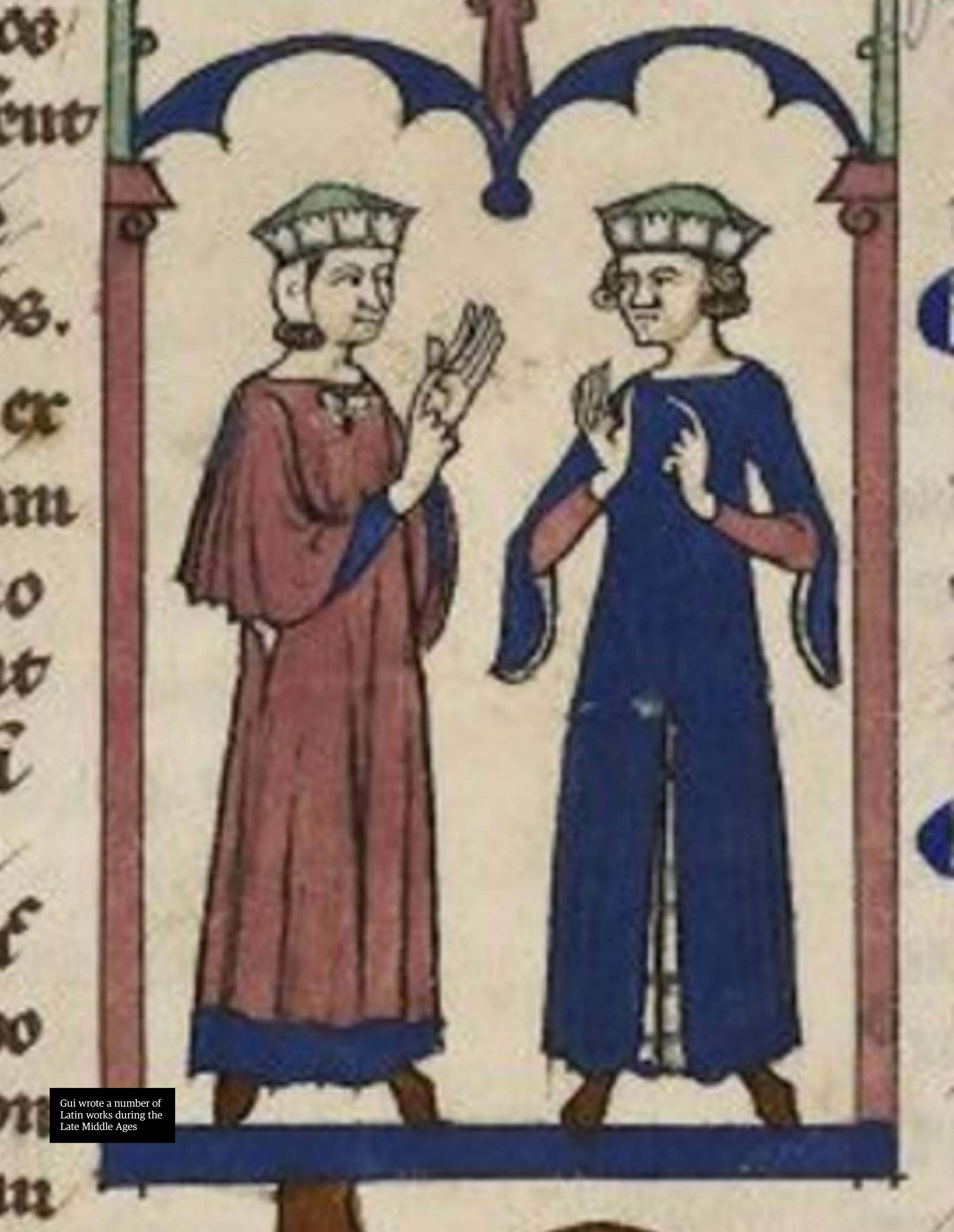


Gui wrote a number of Latin works during the Late Middle Ages

BERNARD GUI

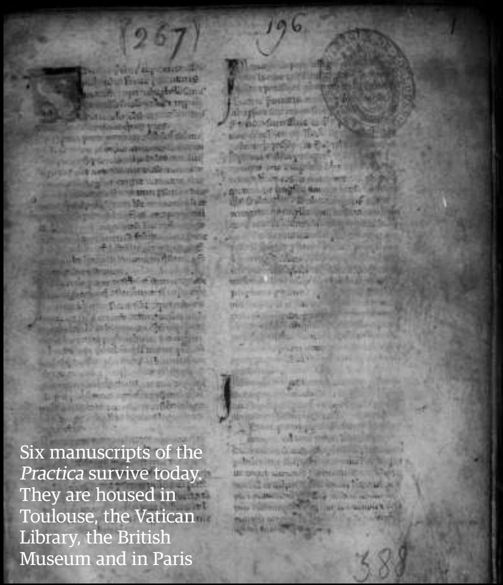
Meet the man who wrote the guidebook for inquisitors everywhere

Written by Katharine Marsh

Above all else, Bernard Gui was a man of god. Born around 1261 or 1262 in the Limousin region of France, he entered the Dominican monastery at Limoges in the early 1270s. His monastic career saw him study grammar, logic, philosophy and theology before taking on administrative roles in Dominican houses across southern France. He became a prior in 1294 – and again at Carcassonne in 1297, Castres in 1301 and Limoges in 1305. He would later become Bishop of Tui, but before that he had a more important role to play.

In 1307, Gui was given a monumental task: heading up Toulouse's inquisition as its chief inquisitor. That name wasn't grand enough, though – he styled himself 'Friar Bernard Gui, of the Order of Preachers, inquisitor of heretical depravity delegated to the kingdom of France by the apostolic authority'. While everything in the title was true – he was asked to take up his mantle by popes Clement V and John XXII – it was still quite a mouthful.

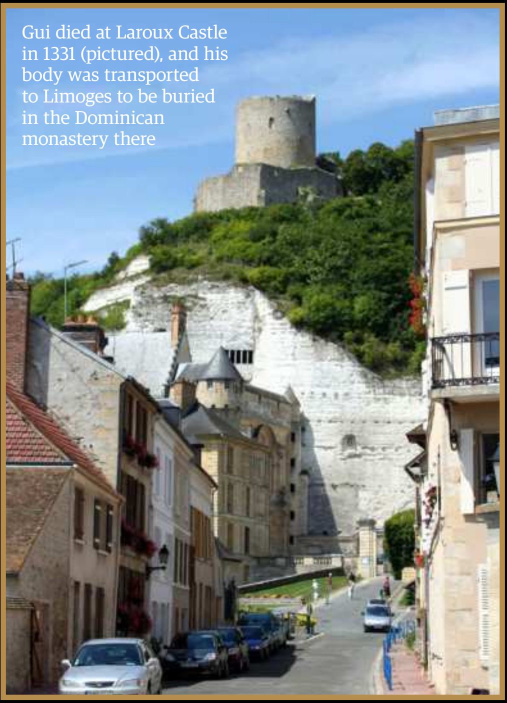
Travelling France and preaching hellfire for sinners, Gui was known as one of the more zealous inquisitors of the time. His view was that the inquisition was more of a debate competition – the heretic wanted to conceal his wrongdoings, but the inquisitor needed to convince an audience that the heretic was really guilty. His signature technique was not to ask Christian heretics if they were subverting the true teachings of Christ, because in their eyes they wouldn't be lying if they said they weren't. Instead, he would question them on the individual tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, asking the heretic if they believe in them and swear before God. If the question was dodged, the accused was indeed a heretic. If they swore falsely, it became a legal matter with punishment handed down by the secular institution.



Six manuscripts of the *Practica* survive today. They are housed in Toulouse, the Vatican Library, the British Museum and in Paris

When not in the pulpit, Gui was writing furiously. Alongside an illustrated genealogy of the kings of France and a list of sentences he handed down through the inquisition, he penned *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, a comprehensive manual for inquisitors. "A vigorous inquisitor must not allow himself to be worked upon…" he advises, "but proceed firmly till he make these people confess their error." At a time when inquisitors had no formal training, this five-part compendium – handily written in medieval Latin, which educated inquisitors across Europe would understand – contained interrogation guidance, advice on penalties, and descriptions of the beliefs and practices of so-called heretics like the Cathars, Waldensians, Pseudo-Apostles, Beguines and relapsed Jews.

It seemed that converts to Judaism sparked a particular religious fervour in Gui. In his eyes, they threatened Christianity's superiority with their "intolerable blasphemy". But some attention was also given to "sorcerers, diviners and invokers of demons", which has proven that inquisitions were concerning themselves with witches more than 150 years before the publication of the *Malleus maleficarum*, or *Hammer of Witches*, by Kramer in 1487. However, these weren't the witches that had orgies in the woods or baby-eaters – these were the people following pagan beliefs, "the weirding-women, called the good ones who, as they say, go by night". Necromancy was a big concern for the pope back in Rome, and guarding against that and invocations of demons was becoming of utmost importance. Regardless, it seems as though Gui never actually tried a case of heretical sorcery himself.



Gui died at Laroux Castle in 1331 (pictured), and his body was transported to Limoges to be buried in the Dominican monastery there

Gender seemed to play a part in his rulings, too. "Men are cross-examined in one way and women in another," he wrote. We don't know how differently they were treated, but the acts of folk sorcery that seemed to be heretical were typically female. It was ritual chanting, conception magic and fortune tellers who claimed to draw their power from a pagan goddess.

In the Catholic crusade against heresy, Gui was a general with God (and the pope, his representative on Earth) as his commanding officer. Below him were inquisitors who he was all too ready to send into battle. In his eyes, perhaps the heretical resistance to the Catholic Church wouldn't be so strong if kings didn't keep interfering with the Inquisition's divine work.

Today, Gui remains one of the most famous medieval inquisitors, and he was arguably one of the most influential thanks to his handbook. It was copied and read throughout medieval Europe and it took 100 years for its contents to be superseded – it was Catalan Nicholas Eymerich's *Directorium Inquisitorum* that would mostly replace it.

Gui saw prominence more recently as a secondary antagonist in Umberto Eco's best-selling historical novel *The Name of the Rose* in 1980, adapted for TV as recently as 2019. While inquisitions seem to be a part of the past, Gui's name is nevertheless still bandied about today, as a book character, a brief reference in *Les Misérables*, and even as a reference in a video game.

Images: Alamy

DIRECTORIUM INQUISITORUM

A GUIDE FOR INQUISITORS

Looking for some advice on how to get your heretic to crack? Want to learn the ins and outs of evil sorcery? One Spanish inquisitor had all the answers you needed

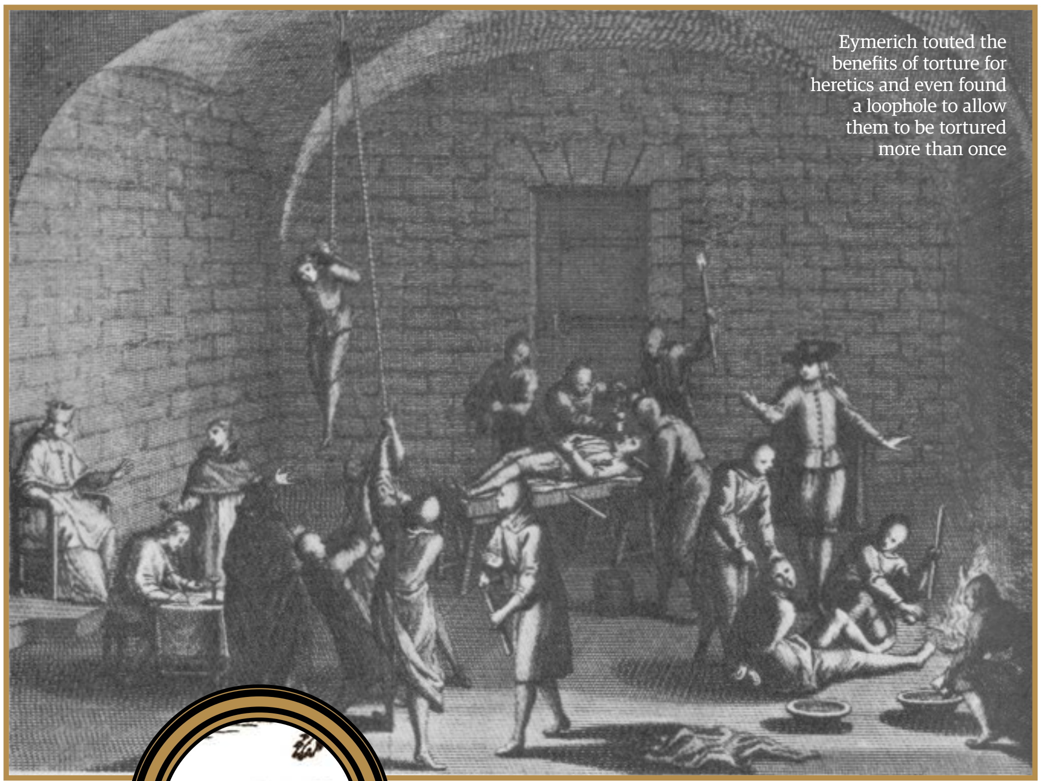
Written by Katharine Marsh

If inquisitors were going to be able to do their job properly, they needed a guide. In Spain, it was the grand inquisitor of Aragon who took this job upon himself, penning the *Directorium Inquisitorum* around 1376. This man was Nicholas Eymerich, a Catholic theologian native to northern Catalonia.

Influenced by other guides for inquisitors, like the works of Bernard Gui, Eymerich was already a known author, having written earlier in his life on sorcery and the dangers it brought to society. His hunt for witches came in handy when drafting the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, in which he used confiscated 'magical' texts to detail forbidden practices that inquisitors needed to keep an eye out for. This included putting salt on fires, burning the bodies of animals, conjuring spirits and chiromancy, or palmistry. There's no doubt that sorcery was considered a form of heresy at the time - most Inquisitorial guides included it - but Eymerich gave it special attention, splitting it into three variants, drawing his ideas from the Bible, Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas.

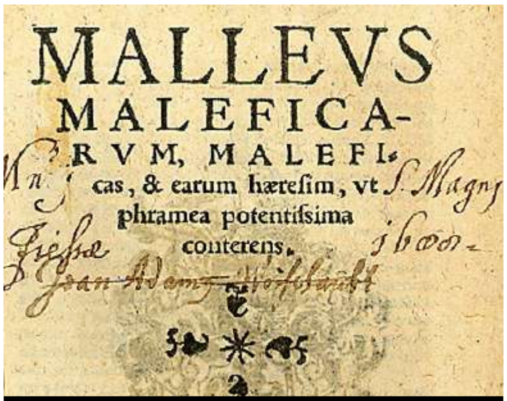
Making sacrifices and praying to or worshipping devils was going to lead to a conviction as the most serious form of heresy. The second category involved talking about devils alongside saints and angels, asking for the intercession before God. Here, 'Saracens' (or Muslims) were seen as heretics for their veneration of the prophet Muhammad - a hangover from the Reconquista.

Eymerich's third category was reserved for any who sought help from a demon. Here he had the added benefit of being able to quote Pope Innocent V; according to him, if someone was able to receive aid from a demon then they must have entered into a pact with them. It was Eymerich who took this a step further and equated it to heresy. In fact, he was one of the first to do so, and it kept the *Directorium Inquisitorum* in main circulation in Europe well into the 17th century. His work would go on to influence texts like *Malleus Maleficarum* (*Hammer of the Witches*) and the European witch hunts.



Eymerich touted the benefits of torture for heretics and even found a loophole to allow them to be tortured more than once

But sorcery wasn't Eymerich's only topic of fascination. His guide also delves into methods of extracting confessions from accused heretics - unfortunately for his victims, this involved some outright torture as well as medieval psychological manipulation. Apparently "torture [was]



MALLEVS
MALEFICA-
RVM, MALEFI-
cas, & earum hæreſim, vt
phramea potentiſsima
conterens.

S. Magni
1600
~~Joan Adam~~

Malleus Maleficarum found some inspiration from Eymerich's writings

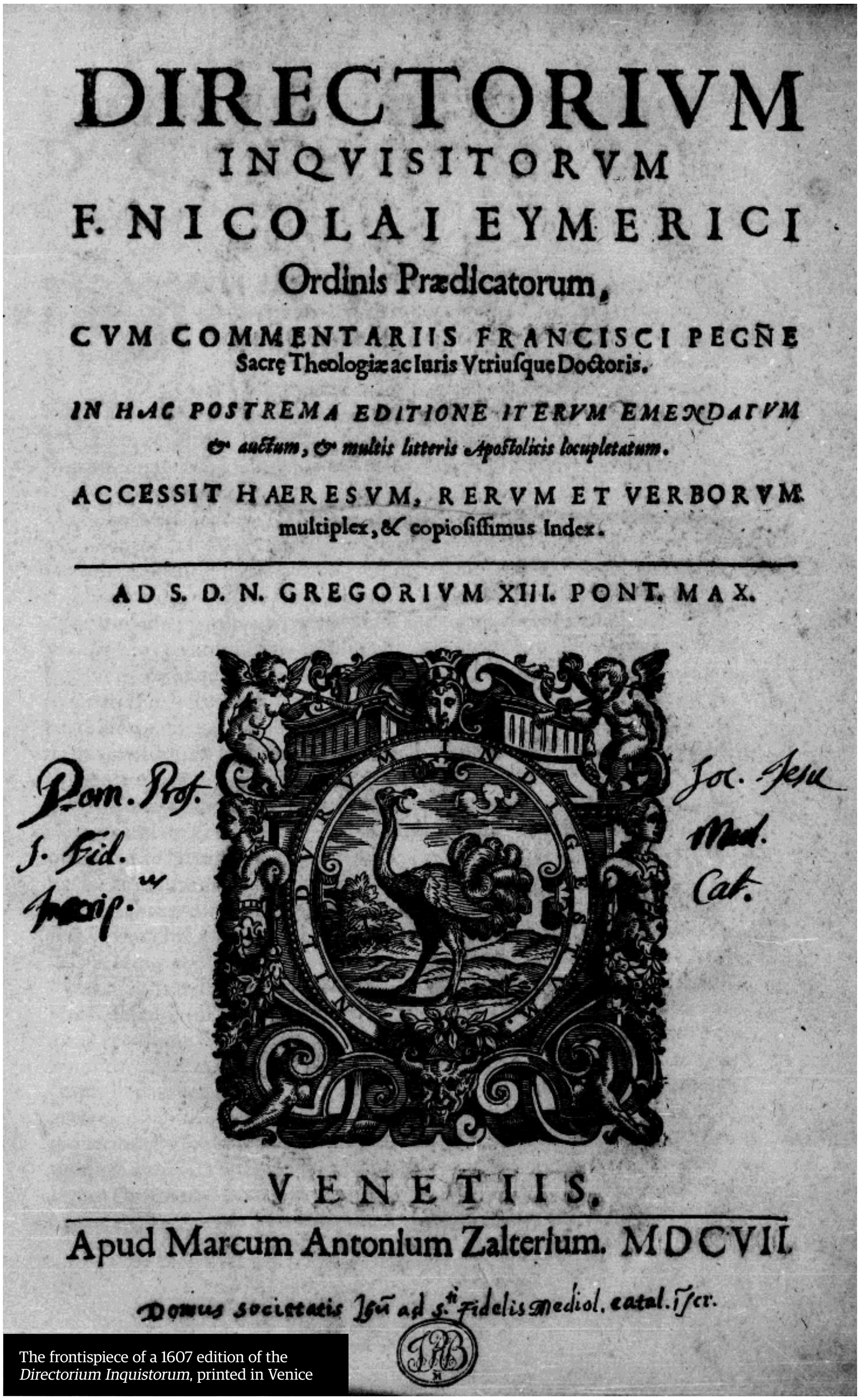
deceptive and ineffectual". Eymerich was also the first to get around the Church's ban on torturing someone twice – for him, each instance of heresy stood on its own, so the poor accused had to be put through excruciating pain for each one.

He also detailed other groups that he considered to be heretical. Jews and blasphemers all fell under the jurisdiction of an inquisition, following trends that had been started by others and encouraged by Bernard Gui's *Practica Inquisitionis Heretice Pravitatis*, which was a similar text written in the Languedoc region of France half a century earlier.

But Eymerich also put forth yet more practical advice: "The third part of this directory of the office of inquisition is about the practice of that office." He details how to set up an inquisition and how to carry out Inquisitorial duties, as well as individual heresies. He also lays out 13 different ways cases can end, including the suspect being absolved, canonically purged, tortured or adjured.

Part of the reason Eymerich's work remained so popular over the centuries was its ability to be used by an inquisitor anywhere in Europe. Geographic terms were avoided, and Eymerich looked at the heresies across the continent as a whole rather than focusing on his area in Spain. He also doesn't consider other points of view – the *Directorium Inquisitorum* is how he interprets the heretical landscape and what he thinks should be done about it, backed up by legal sources that support his theological view. As a result, it became a comprehensive guide as opposed to an essay of arguments.

The *Directorium Inquisitorum* defined the Spanish Inquisition. It was the definitive handbook for inquisitors right into the 17th century, reprinted several times over the years, including one in Rome in 1578. Even when it fell out of circulation it still influenced texts about witches and sorcery, keeping the fight against that particular branch of heresy very much alive. It's no wonder that his epitaph read, "Praedicator veridicus, inquisitor intrepidus, doctor egregius." A truthful preacher, an intrepid inquisitor, an excellent teacher.



DIRECTORIVM
INQVISITORVM
F. NICOLAI EYMERICI
Ordinis Prædicatorum,
CVM COMMENTARIIS FRANCISCI PEGÑE
Sacræ Theologiæ ac Iuris Vtriuſque Doctoris.
IN HAC POSTREMA EDITIONE ITERVM EMENDATVM
& auctum, & multis litteris Apoſtolicis locupletatum.
ACCESSIT HAERESVM, RERVM ET VERBORVM
multiplex, & copioſiſſimus Index.

AD S. D. N. GREGORIVM XIII. PONT. MAX.

Dom. Prof.
S. Fid.
Inscrip.

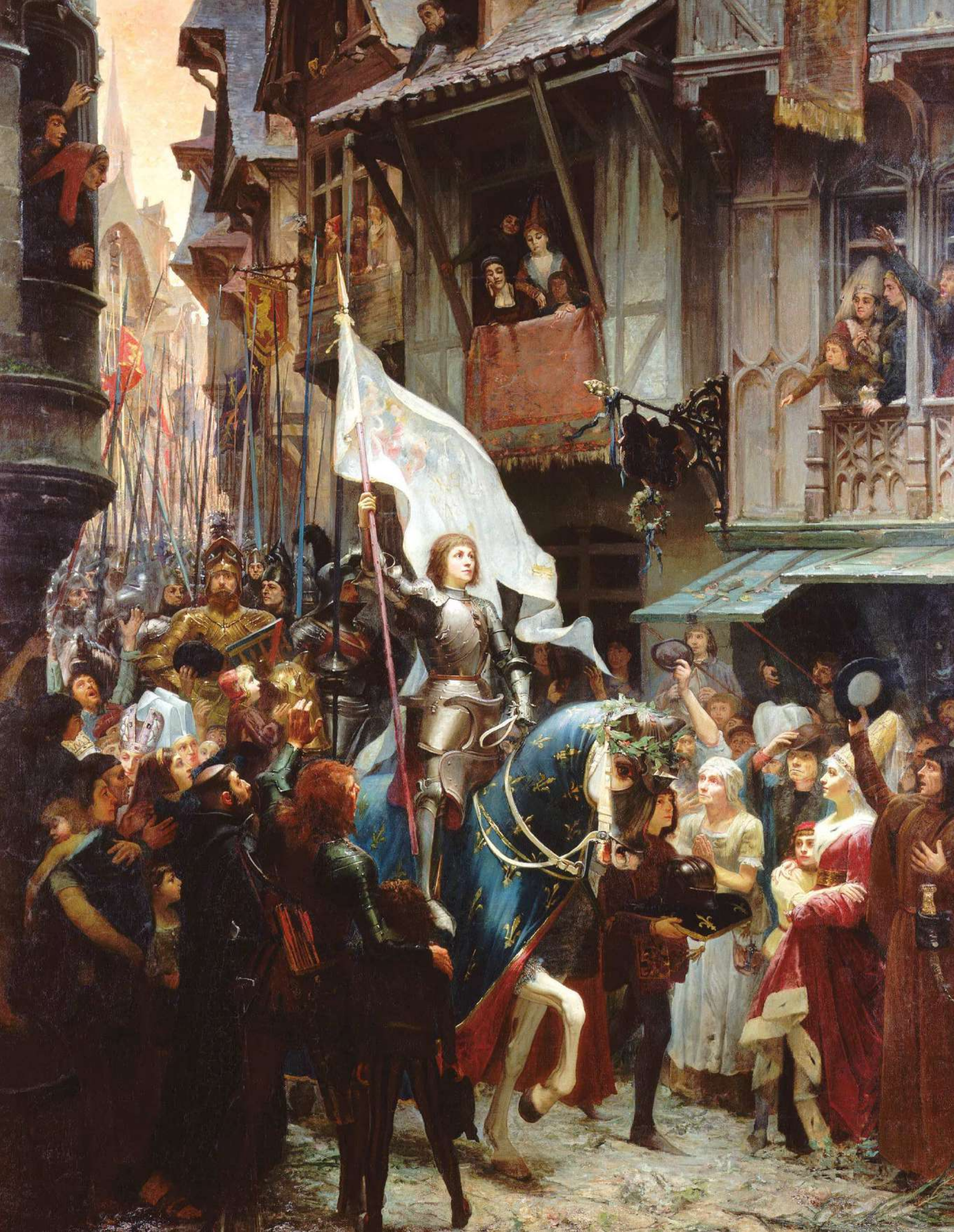
Soc. Jesu
Med.
Cat.

VENETIIS,
Apud Marcum Antonium Zalterium. MDCVII.

Domus societatis Jesu ad S.ti Fidelis Mediol. catal. inscr.

The frontispiece of a 1607 edition of the *Directorium Inquistorum*, printed in Venice

> "It was the definitive handbook for inquisitors right into the 17th century, reprinted several times over the years"



JOAN OF ARC

The teenage martyr who led the French army and put the fear of God into the English

Written by Jonathan Hatfull

A young woman whose faith led her to challenge kings and inspire armies, Joan of Arc's devout belief that God had appointed her to lead the French to victory against the English drove her from the village of her birth and onto the battlefield. In her brief time she became a national figurehead, a symbol of resistance. It was an image she cultivated and one that would ultimately lead to her death.

Flames secured Joan's martyrdom, just as they provoked her fierce patriotism. Jehanne D'Arc, or la Pucelle (the Maid) as she came to be known, was born in 1412 in the village of Domrémy, located across the river from Burgundy territory. The Burgundians, allies of the English, regularly attacked French territory. In July 1428, Joan's family fled a raid and returned to find the enemy had burned their town, fields and church. Joan had heard angelic voices since the age of 12 or 13, urging her to remain pious, but now they gave her a specific mission. The voices of Archangel Michael, St Catherine and St Margaret directed her to go into France and find her king, the Dauphin Charles.

The alliance between England and Burgundy had kept Charles from claiming the French crown. His enemies not only occupied Paris but also held the city of Reims, where coronations took place. The crown would have to wait, however, as the French city of Orléans was in the grip of a protracted siege. Orléans needed help and Joan believed she was the one to deliver it. On 13 May 1428, the 16-year-old arrived in Vaucouleurs and begged Robert de Baudricourt, the captain of the garrison, to give her a military escort to Charles' court at Chinon. Baudricourt replied that she should be taken home and beaten. However, Joan would not be deterred and returned in January the next year.

She claimed she was the subject of a prophecy from 1398 about a maid who would "deliver the kingdom of France from the enemy." Baudricourt turned her down again, but her efforts were gaining traction. She curried favour with local nobility, particularly the Duke of Lorraine. Although Joan refused to attempt to cure his gout, the Duke agreed to give her a small escort, and in February she travelled in men's clothes to Chinon, where she was presented to the court.

Charles was cautious but curious. Taking advice from a mad heretic could be devastating to his campaign, but her story appealed to his love of astrology and fortune-telling, and besides, he desperately needed any help he could get. Joan immediately picked him out from the crowd and pledged her allegiance: "Most illustrious Lord Dauphin, I come and am sent from God to give assistance to you and the kingdom." He was impressed, but ordered she be tested before giving any official credence to her claims. A key figure in these trials was Yolande of Aragon, one of the true powers behind Charles and an intelligent strategist. After Joan's maidenhood was proved, she faced questions from clergy and theologians and passed with flying colours. Whether or not they truly believed in her voices was irrelevant. Charles now had a

She claimed to have her first vision at the age of 12, when St Catherine, St Michael and St Margaret appeared to her in a field

"Her story appealed to his love of astrology and fortune-telling, and besides, he desperately needed any help he could get"

LIFE IN THE TIME OF JOAN OF ARC

THE BLACK DEATH

From 1348 to 1350, the Black Death ravaged England, claiming the lives of some 1.5 million people. Carried by fleas, in turn carried by the rats infesting London, the bubonic plague spread through overpopulated towns and cities. England's economy and resources would suffer its effects for decades to come.

EMISSARIES FROM GOD

Joan of Arc was not the first woman to claim the heavenly host had spoken to her. Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) railed against corruption in the clergy, St Clare of Assisi (1194-1253) claimed to be able to hear and see Mass on the wall of her room when she was too ill to move, and Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) travelled Italy urging states to make peace with Rome.

FROM BOWS TO CANNONS

As the Hundred Years' War raged on through the decades, the technology of warfare began to change. The English longbows at Agincourt in 1415 were the difference between victory and defeat, but as open battles were often replaced by lengthy sieges, cannon fire became a deciding factor. By the Siege of Orléans both sides deployed cannons.

HERESY TRIALS

The definition of heresy covers a great deal of sins, but the term boils down to denying any established Christian dogma. In the Middle Ages, heresy trials became more common and the Catholic Church aggressively pursued any enemies. This continued into the 19th century, claiming countless victims.

THE BAVARIAN HUSSITES

Czech religious reformer Jan Huss was burned at the stake in 1415 for heresy. After his death, the Hussite movement was born, separating itself from Rome. The Hussites declared that communion should be given with bread and wine, they believed in poverty of the priesthood, punishment of sinners and freedom of preaching. Pope Martin V announced a crusade against them in 1420.

messenger of God, and Yolande raised a convoy for this messenger to lead.

In April 1429, Joan rode out, holding her white standard and wearing a suit of armour commissioned by Charles. She announced that her sword would be found in the church of Sainte-Catherine-de-Fierbois, hidden behind the altar. It was an old gift to the church from the crusades, and the discovery was treated as a miracle. Her pious conduct became renowned; she forced her soldiers to stop taking the Lord's name in vain and expelled prostitutes from their camps. She dictated letters to the English, instructing them to leave France or face the wrath of God. A canny propagandist, the Dauphin ensured these letters were copied and widely distributed.

However, Joan was still an untested military leader. She arrived at Orléans eager for battle but had not understood that her forces were there as support, nothing more. Although frustrated, she managed to get her men into the city, past the English troops and was rewarded with the adulation of the citizens. They may have been pleased to see her but her impatience to attack was at odds with her fellow commanders' strategy. In her frustration she hurled insults at the English from the battlements.

When an attack was decided upon on 4 May 1428, Joan was not even told by the commanders and woke up as the fight was in progress. She arrived just in time to rally her troops and inspire them to capture their target: the small fortress of Saint-Loup. It was their first victory and Joan's confidence grew. She dictated a fearsome final letter to the English, ordering them to leave, and on 6 May another attack was mounted. Inspired by Joan, the French routed the enemy. She joined the advance the next day, claiming to be the first to storm the ramparts at Les Tourelles, where she took an arrow to the shoulder but surviving her wound. The French commanders credited her for inspiring the troops to victory. Orléans hadn't just been relieved; the English had been routed.

With Orléans free, Joan wanted Charles to proceed immediately to Reims, but the Dauphin was more cautious. He wanted to clear the Loire Valley and began raising money for the campaign. It would be a month before Joan would see combat again. Technically, the young

> Joan sent many letters to British and Burgundian troops but she was illiterate and had to dictate them

> *"She dictated a fearsome final letter to the English, ordering them to leave, and on 6 May another attack was mounted. Inspired by Joan, the French routed the enemy"*

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, 1337–1453

After William the Conqueror defeated Harold at Hastings in 1066 and claimed the English throne, English and Norman territories were combined. It was inevitably difficult to keep control of the taken land. By the start of English King Edward III's reign in 1327, only Gascony and Pontieu remained. When the French King Charles IV died heirless, Edward believed his mother (and Charles' sister) Isabella was the next in line, meaning the crown should be his. The French disagreed and chose Charles' cousin Philip. A furious Edward refused to pay homage and when the Philip confiscated his lands in Aquitaine in retaliation, Edward declared war.

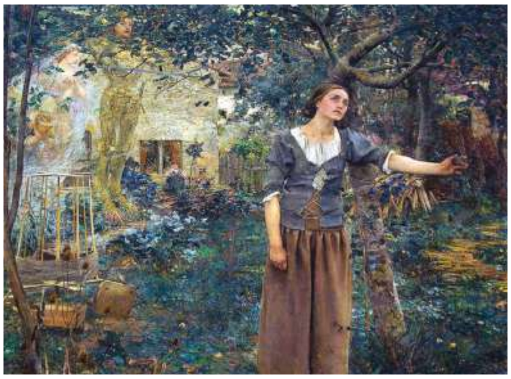
The Edwardian era of the Hundred Years' War lasted until 1360. The English captured Philip's successor, King John II, but a compromise wasn't reached until the Treaty of Brétigny, in which Edward agreed to abandon his claim in exchange for Aquitaine and Calais. War resumed in 1369 when Charles V of France responded to Edward the Black Prince refusing his summons by declaring war. Charles successfully reclaimed many of the territories his predecessor lost, and the Black Prince's son Richard II would make peace with Charles VI in 1389.

War resumed in 1415 when Henry V invaded, leading to decades of conflict during which the English would take Paris and claim kingship. They would not be driven out until the Battle of Castillon in 1453, the official end of the Hundred Years' War.

Defining moment

First vision 1424

At just 12 or 13 years old, she first claims to hear the voices of angels speaking to her. At first the voices tell her to 'govern' her conduct. If she feels she had not behaved properly, the voices would admonish her. They also tell her to reject the marriage her family had arranged for her. Joan soon identifies the main voice as Michael, the archangel who led the battle against Satan in the Book of Revelation. As Joan grows older, Michael's messages continue to advise her toward piety but gradually grow more political. Finally, Michael and the other voices, those of St Catherine and St Margaret, tell her to travel to France and begin her mission.



Timeline

1412

Birth of a warrior
Joan is born to a farming family in the town of Domrémy. She never receives formal education or learns how to read and write, instead learning about religion from her mother Isabelle.
1412

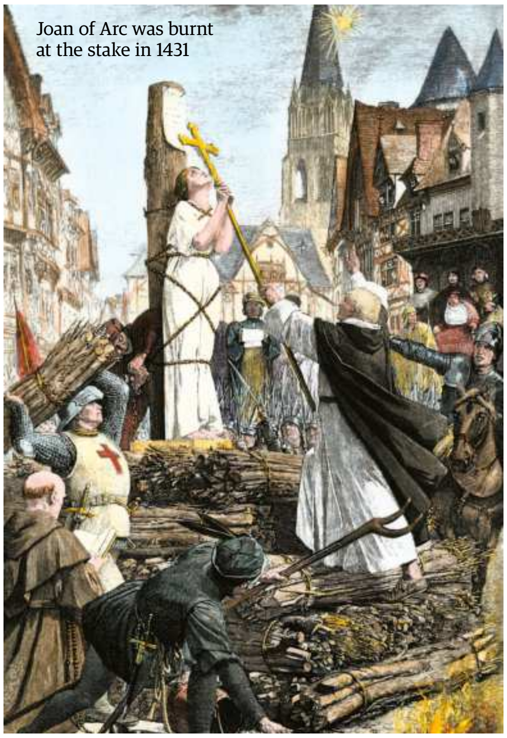
Domrémy burns
The territory across the river from Domrémy is Burgundian, and a raid into French territory proves a defining moment for Joan. Her family flees to Neufchâteau and returns to find the enemy have burnt their town.
1428

Journey to Vaucouleurs
In 1428 Joan's voices tell her to travel to France and talk to the Dauphin Charles. She travels to Vaucouleurs to demand an escort, beginning a series of attempts ending in success after convincing nobles that she is the fulfilment of a prophecy.
May 1428

Audience with the king
Joan is granted a meeting with the Dauphin Charles, who sees value in her for his military campaign to free Orléans. Joan immediately identifies him in a room full of people and impresses him with her fervour.
6 March 1429

The sword is found
After convincing the clergy and theologians of her gift, Joan is allowed to lead a force to Orléans. She announces her sword can be found in the church of Sainte-Catherine-de-Fierbois, which it is.
April 1429

Joan dressed in men's clothes, claiming the spirits told her to. She also wore her hair short, but this is often not depicted in portraits


Joan of Arc was burnt at the stake in 1431

Duke of Alençon led the army, but he was a firm believer in the young female warrior and frequently deferred to her. They swept quickly through the English resistance and laid siege to Beaugency. The English surrendered without realising a relief force was on its way, a force the French promptly set off after. They met at Patay on 18 June, where the ill-prepared English were decimated, with over 2,000 dead and all but one senior officer captured. Joan played little part in this victory but by this point that mattered not, as her legend only grew stronger. By now, Charles was ready to head for Reims and his coronation. He led a grand procession, entered the city on 16 July and was crowned the next day as Joan looked on proudly. She was desperate for the king to attack Paris, but he chose to leave Reims instead, only to be barred from crossing the Seine by English troops. Joan was ecstatic as the only remaining option was an attack on the capital.

After skirmishes throughout August and a truce with Burgundy, on 8 September Joan finally witnessed the assault on Paris she had been itching for. She stood on the moat, demanding surrender, but the only reply she received was an English arrow through her leg. After hours of constant bombardment, her men reached her under the cover of darkness, but she was determined to continue the fight the next day. However, once Charles saw the number of French casualties he ordered her to return to his side.

The attack had failed and Joan's usefulness was now suddenly cast into doubt. She needed a victory to restore her reputation but in November 1429 she failed to take the castle of La Charité after a long siege. On return to court, Charles gave her hereditary nobility but made sure she stayed with him, which frustrated Joan. It was her duty to be on the battlefield expelling the enemy from her home soil, not rotting in court.

By 1430, the English were preparing a full-scale invasion of France to reclaim their recently lost territory. When the city of Compiègne refused to surrender, Joan rode to support them without Charles' authorisation. On 23 May she led an attack from the city, but the English reinforcements cut her off at the rear and she could not retreat. She was pulled from her horse and forced to surrender to the Burgundians. She testified that constant sexual harassment was the reason she remained in men's clothing, while the voices in her head told her not to escape. Defying them, she leapt from the tower but was injured in the fall and promptly recaptured.

The English needed to make an example of Joan, and the Parisian theologians, as dictated by the rules of the Catholic Inquisition, wanted to try her for heresy, idolatry and witchcraft. She needed to answer for the way in which she had circumvented the church by claiming to receive her instructions from her 'voices', while her ability to inspire followers had to be stopped. If she were convicted by a foreign power the damage to Charles' reputation would be severe, so the French court paid the Duke of Burgundy £10,000 to hand his prize over.

Six rounds of questioning took place between 21 February and 3 March 1431, with nine more between 10 and 17 March, all conducted in her cell. Joan never changed her story. On 24 May, she was taken to the scaffold and told that if she did not abjure, she would be given to the secular authorities that would carry out her death sentence. Joan wavered as the sentence began to be read out. In front of the crowd, she recanted and was sentenced to life imprisonment and to wear women's clothes.

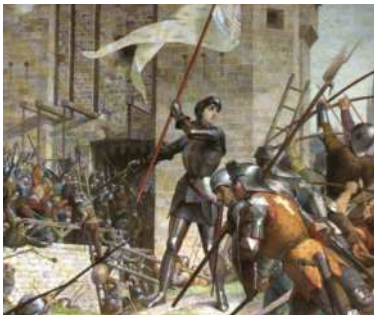
Two days later Joan changed her mind. Demanding she be allowed to attend mass, Joan was found in men's clothes, claiming the voices had told her that her abjuration was treason. Now the only possible outcome was her execution.

On 30 May she was allowed to make her confession and take communion before she was taken to the Old Market in Rouen and tied to the stake. She was given a small crucifix and a Dominican priest held a parish cross high so she could see it even as the flames began to lick around her. The young warrior who had led her country to such great victories over the English cried out "Jesus!" repeatedly before leaving this world. The king she had helped crown, Charles VII, refused to intervene. She was merely a tool that had stopped being useful. However, the legend of Jehanne la Pucelle only grew stronger with time. In 1456, after a lengthy investigation, the sentence was annulled, and in 1920, Joan of Arc was canonised by Pope Benedict XV.

Defining moment

Siege of Orléans 29 April – 8 May 1429

Joan arrives at Orléans amid great fanfare from the citizens of the city but is met with indifference by her fellow commanders. She is determined to mount an attack as soon as possible but is told to wait for a relief effort. She is so poorly regarded by the other generals that when a sortie takes place, she's not told beforehand. Instead, she races out and joins the attack just in time to rally the flagging troops, ultimately claiming a fortress. This will be the first in a series of victories that would liberate Orléans and confirm her status for many as a heaven-sent hero.



Charles is crowned
After swiftly clearing the Loire region of English resistance, Charles finally travels to Reims, where he is crowned King Charles VII of France. The coronation fulfils another part of the prophecy foretold by Joan's voices.
17 July 1429

A failed siege
Following Charles' coronation, Joan is convinced that Paris will fall. However, the siege fails as 1,500 men are slain by the English bombardment, with Joan herself wounded, having to be pulled from the battlefield under nightfall.
8 September 1429

Capture
While leading an unsanctioned relief effort of Compiègne, Joan decides to attack the Burgundian troops surrounding the city. She is cut off by the English and pulled from her horse while trying to escape.
23 March 1430

Trial
Needing to regain superiority, the church interrogates Joan, telling her she can abjure or face a secular court that will execute her. She retracts her statement, only to change her mind days later, stating she'd rather die than deny what she knows to be true.
9 January–24 May 1431

Burned to death
Having recanted her abjuration, Joan is sentenced to be burned at the stake. A Dominican priest holds a cross up high enough for her to see from the flames. She calls out "Jesus!" several times as she burns to death.
30 May 1431

1456

Late justice
Charles orders that Joan's trial be investigated, a process that takes roughly six years to complete. Finally, in 1456, the original verdict is found to be unjust and is annulled.
1456

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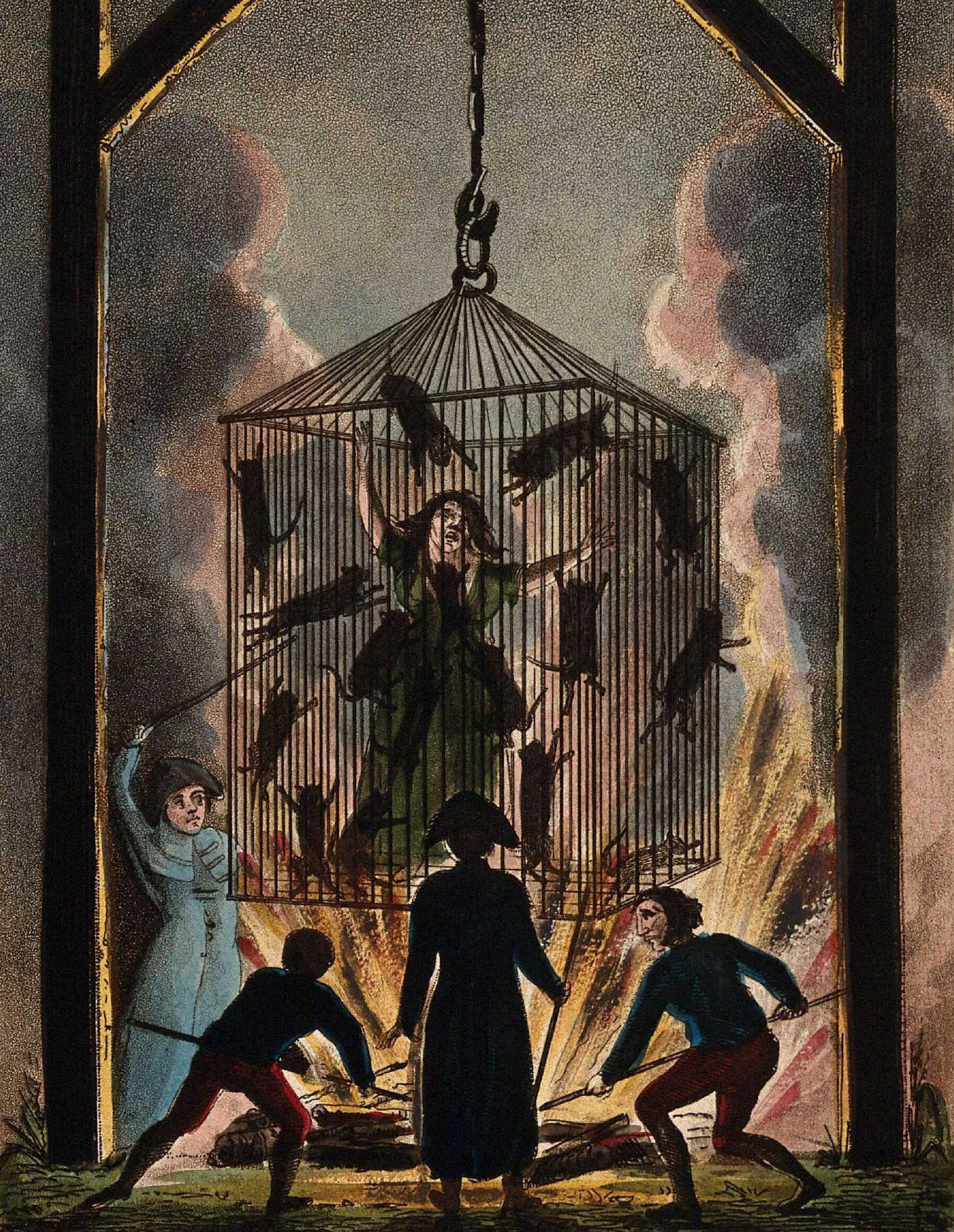


WITCHCRAFT AND THE INQUISITION

The safest place to be accused of witchcraft in early modern Europe were the lands where the Inquisition held sway

Written by Edoardo Albert

"I have not found the slightest evidence from which to infer that a single act of witchcraft has really occurred."

This statement, written at the height of the witch frenzy in 1612, when elsewhere in Europe thousands of women and men were being executed, was written not by a sceptical scholar or rational scientist but by a Spanish inquisitor named Alonso de Salazar Frías. What's more, in his report to the Suprema, the governing council of the Inquisition, Salazar Frías went on to say, "The evidence of the accused alone, without external proof, is insufficient to justify arrest… three-quarters and more have accused themselves and their accomplices falsely."

The Supreme Council of the Inquisition (or Suprema) had sent Salazar Frías to investigate the auto de fé that had taken place in Navarre on 7 November 1610. As a result of the auto de fé, six of the 29 people accused of witchcraft were burned in person and five in effigy.

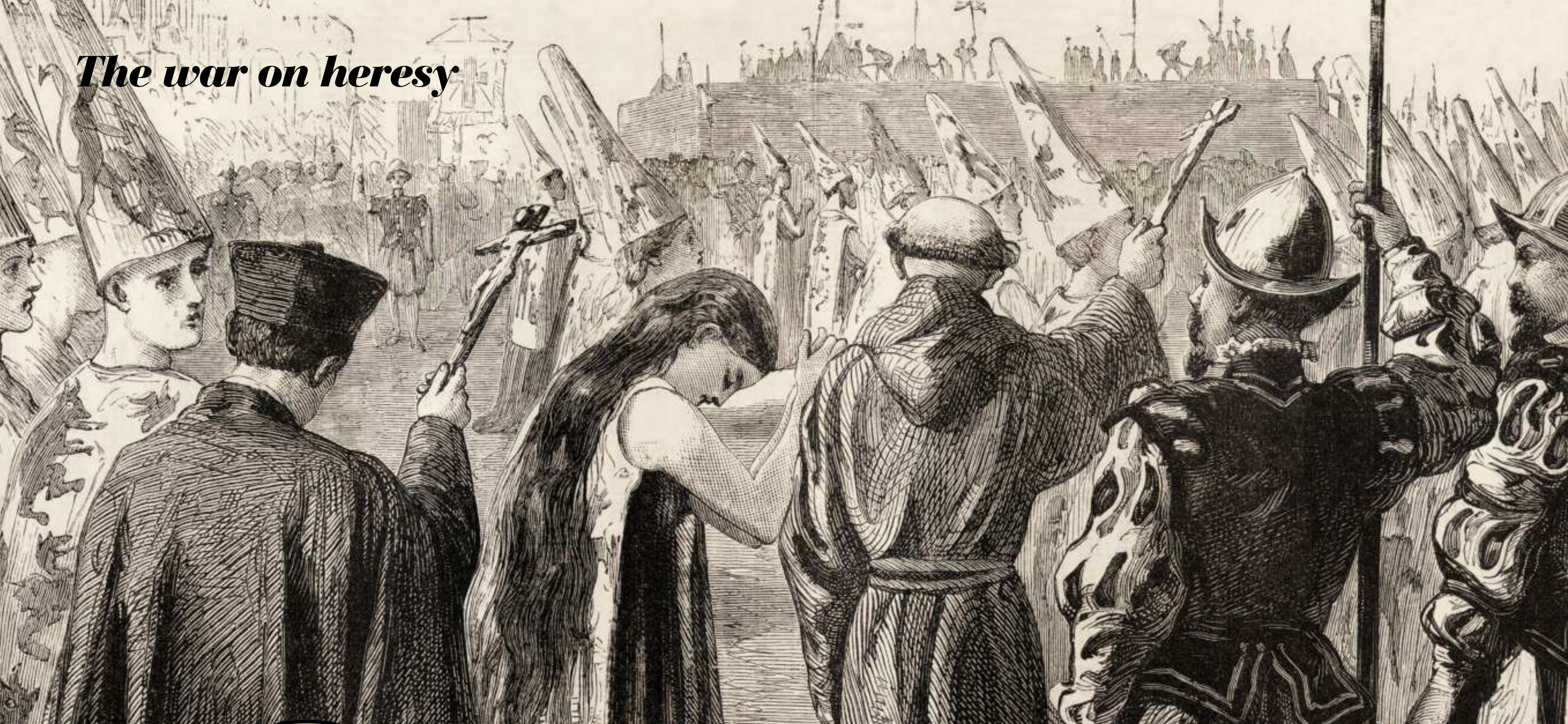
This was so contrary to the Inquisition's previous practice that the Suprema ordered Salazar Frías to find out what had gone on and why Navarre had, apparently, become the centre of witchcraft in Spain. For up until this auto de fé, Spain had remained largely free from the witchcraft hysteria that had gripped much of northern Europe. While the secular authorities in Spain investigated allegations of witchcraft and, when they did so, often applied the death penalty, the Inquisition had historically been much more reluctant to do so.

This policy dated from a meeting in 1526 when the Inquisitor General convened a meeting to decide whether witches really did attend witches' sabbats. At this time in Europe all learned opinion, including university scholars, was absolutely certain of the existence of magic and witchcraft. Indeed, the parallel exploration of science and magic was a feature of the age: a century later, Isaac Newton would spend as much intellectual energy on occult studies as he did on the laws of universal gravitation and motion. Magic was a given, accepted as totally then as climate change is today. What was more controversial was whether witches did actually attend sabbats, gatherings of witches where they swore allegiance to the devil and indulged in all manner of perverted practices.

While the meeting convened by the Inquisitor General voted by six to four that witches did attend sabbats in reality and not just in their imagination, two of the four dissenting votes belonged to the eminent jurist Hernando de Guevara and the future Inquisitor General, Fernando de Valdés. Despite having voted on the truth of witches' sabbats, the meeting nevertheless concluded that it was more important to educate witches than to punish them. This was very different from the attitude in northern Europe. Developing this view, the

"Spain had remained largely free from the witchcraft hysteria that had gripped much of Europe"

LEFT
Giving birth was dangerous. Should the mother and baby die, the midwife could easily become a scapegoat, as in this case of a French midwife, Louisa Mabree, who was executed by being burned in a cage full of black cats



"Juana Izquierda confessed to murdering local children – rather than burning her, the inquisitor sentenced Izquierda to 200 lashes"

theologian Alfonso de Castro stated that, "There are many pagan superstitions and rites solely because of the lack of preachers."

The findings of this meeting were sent to the offices of the Inquisition throughout Spain. When a spate of witchcraft accusations rocked Navarre in 1538, the Suprema told the local inquisitor to "speak to the principal people and explain to them that the loss of harvests and other ills are either sent by God for our sins or are a result of bad weather, and that witches should not be suspected".

In 1591, in Toledo, a local woman, Juana Izquierda, whom opinion unanimously considered a witch, was brought before the local Inquisition. Before the inquisitor, Izquierda confessed to murdering local children as part of magical rituals and 16 witnesses testified that these children had indeed died recently. But even faced with such evidence, rather than burning her, the inquisitor sentenced Izquierda to 200 lashes. Anywhere else in Europe, she would have burned.

When local inquisitors acted against these instructions, the Suprema took action. In 1549, Diego Sarmiento, the inquisitor of Barcelona, ordered the execution of seven women for witchcraft. A witch hunter, Juan Mallet, had been called into the area by local people to search for witches. As Mallet processed through the villages, local people were dragged from their houses for Mallet's inspection. If Mallet declared, simply by looking at them, that they were witches, then they were arrested. The local inquisitor, Sarmiento, intervened in order to stop this usurpation of his powers but then was faced with what to do with the accused. Sarmiento called together a panel of local luminaries and asked them whether witches did commit the vile acts at sabbats that popular legend said they did. The committee affirmed that witches did indeed attend sabbats in person and there commit the murders and fornications that they were accused of and therefore should be punished.

Faced with this unanimous report, Sarmiento ordered the burning of seven of the accused women. Appalled, the Suprema sent another inquisitor, Francisco Vaca, to investigate. Vaca's report was damning. To one of the documents he appended the following comment: "I believe that most of the other cases are as laughable as this one indicates." As a result of Vaca's report, Inquisitor Sarmiento was fired and the remaining accused were freed. The Inquisition in Catalonia never punished another witch.

Given the way the Suprema had set its face against witchcraft persecutions, it's perhaps more surprising that the Inquisition went ahead with its punishments of accused witches in

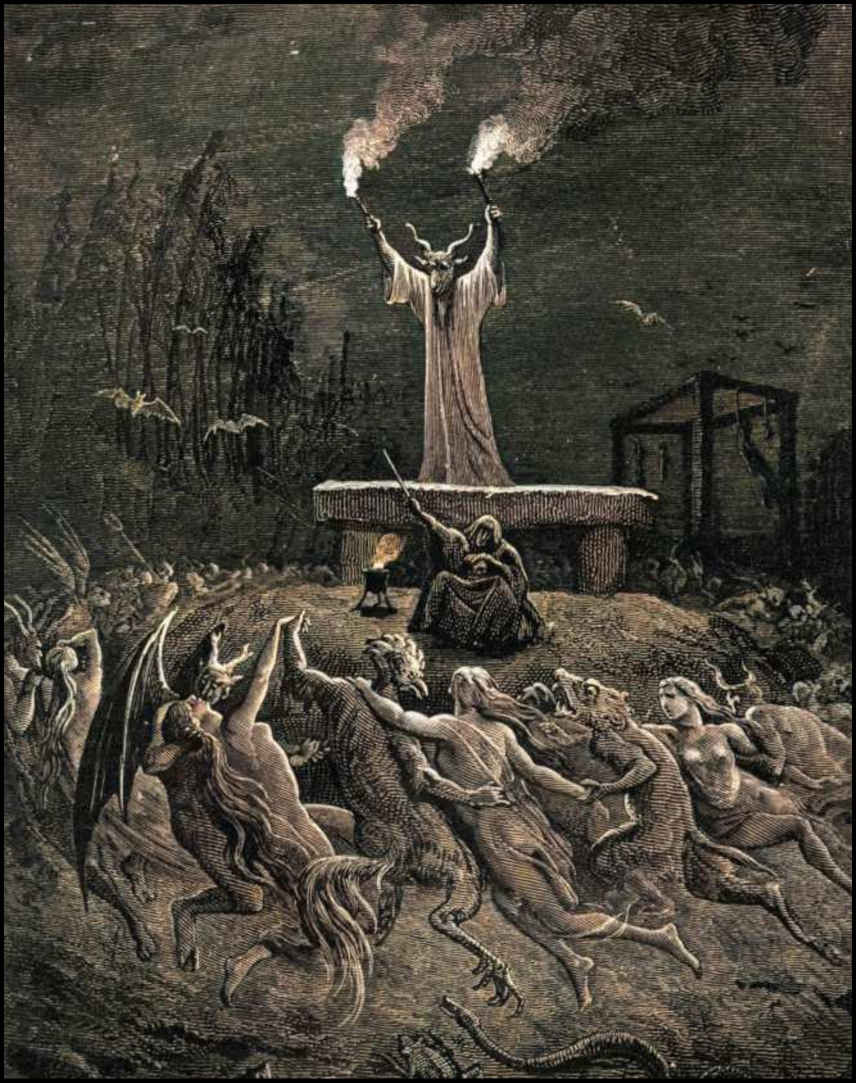
LEFT Although the Inquisition did not generally take part in the witch-hunting frenzy, the 1610 auto de fé in Navarre was an exception

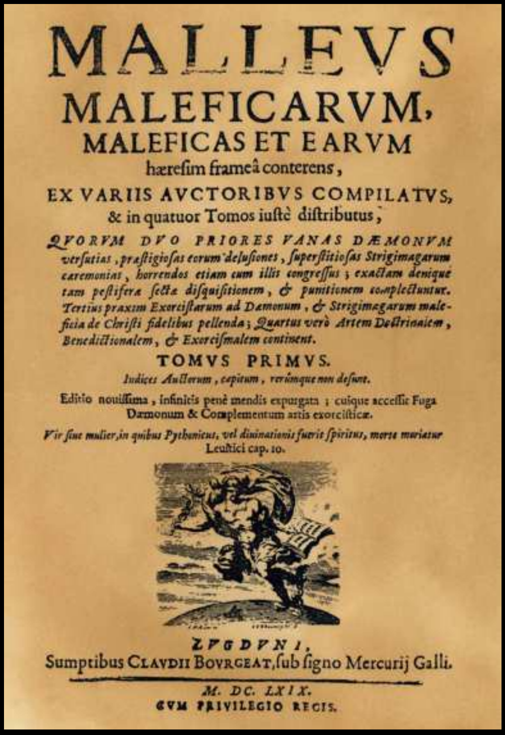
LEFT INSET The witch-hunting frenzy seized Europe from 1560 onwards. This drawing by Johann Jakob Wick shows three women being executed in Switzerland

LEFT BOTTOM Goya painted an earlier view of a witches' sabbat: note the brighter tones and cleaner composition

RIGHT In the early modern period, magic went from the pages of romances to being thought of as practised in the next street or house

FAR RIGHT The publication in 1486 of *Malleus Maleficarum* prepared the ground for the European witch frenzy by equating magic and sorcery with heresy





MALLEVS
MALEFICARVM,
MALEFICAS ET EARVM
hæreſim frameâ conterens,
EX VARIIS AVCTORIBVS COMPILATVS,
& in quatuor Tomos iuſtè diſtributus;
QVORVM DVO PRIORES VANAS DÆMONVM
verſutias, præſtigioſas eorum deluſiones, ſuperſtitioſas Strigimagarum
cæremonias, horrendos etiam cum illis congreſſus; exactam denique
tam peſtiferæ ſectæ diſquiſitionem, & punitionem complectuntur.
Tertius praxim Exorciſtarum ad Dæmonum, & Strigimagarum maleficia de Chriſti fidelibus pellenda; Quartus verò Artem Doctrinalem,
Benedictionalem, & Exorciſmalem continent.
TOMVS PRIMVS.
Indices Auctorum, capitum, rerúmque non deſunt.
Editio nouiſſima, infinitis penè mendis expurgata; cuique acceſſit Fuga
Dæmonum & Complementum artis exorciſticæ.
Vir ſiue mulier, in quibus Pythonicus, vel diuinationis fuerit ſpiritus, morte moriatur
Leuitici cap. 10.

LVGDVNI,
Sumptibus CLAVDII BOVRGEAT, ſub ſigno Mercurij Galli.
M. DC. LXIX.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Navarre in 1610 that Alonso de Salazar Frías was sent to investigate. Looking at the events in more detail shows how the witchcraft panic could spread, creating a frenzy of fear. If this seems very far away, think of how various groups were falsely scapegoated for spreading the virus during the recent pandemic: these emotions are still active today.

Navarre borders on to France and there a notorious French judge, Pierre de Lancre, had led a witch hunt in 1609 that resulted in the execution of 80 supposed witches. The fear inspired by Pierre de Lancre's witch hunt spread across the border, leading to widespread accusations of witchcraft. The inquisitors of Logroño in Navarre, swept up in the general hysteria, declared an auto de fé on Sunday 7 November 1610, which led to the executions detailed at the start of the article.

In response, the Suprema sent Salazar Frías to investigate. He spent nine months on his inquiries, and having examined all the evidence, he decided that it was all nonsense.

"I also feel certain that… in the diseased state of the public mind every agitation of the matter is harmful and increases the evil… and reserve from the experience that there were neither witches nor bewitched until they were talked and written about."

In effect, Salazar Frías was saying that the entire witch frenzy was what we would call today a case of mass hysteria. The Suprema considered his report and accepted it in its entirety. The Suprema then issued fresh instructions requiring inquisitors to be sceptical about witches and to practise leniency when investigating accusations. In effect, the Suprema had decided that all testimony of witchcraft was the result of delusions – even in cases where the witness was the witch herself.

So certain was the Inquisition of the delusionary nature of witchcraft that even when it had definite evidence of its practice it still did not impose extreme penalties. In Barcelona in 1665, the Inquisition investigated a coven of rich Satanists who performed black masses, attempted to summon demons and sacrificed goats during their rituals. One of the coven was a priest: he was suspended from holy order for five years. Another member was a surgeon who was whipped and banished for five years. None were executed. Lower down the social scale, when shepherds accused a local woman, Isabel Amada, who had refused to give them alms, of killing two of their mules and 30 sheep by witchcraft, the Inquisition ordered that Amada be released.

While the Inquisition remained thoroughly sceptical of the existence of witchcraft throughout the European witch craze, the secular authorities in Spain were more susceptible to the hysteria and continued to execute witches. However, because of the resistance of the Inquisition, the number of innocent people – mainly women – executed in Spain was much fewer than in other parts of Europe. Indeed, contrary to popular belief, a woman or man accused of witchcraft and brought before the Inquisition had a far greater chance of being acquitted and released in Spain than anywhere else in Europe.

Scholars now estimate that between 40,000 and 60,000 people were executed in Europe and North America during the witch-hunting frenzy of the modern era. The vast majority of these people were innocent of any crimes whatsoever. The prevalence and virulence of the trials are a salutary reminder of what people will do when in the grip of collective hysteria.

Almost alone among major European institutions, the Inquisition remained immune to this collective hysteria, staying true to its conviction that accusations of witchcraft, even when given in confession by the supposed witch herself, were in fact delusions and fantasies rather than real events. As a result, Spain, and the territories where the King of Spain had authority, were the safest places in all of Europe in which to be accused of witchcraft during those terrible decades.

The Inquisition has many sins on its record. The persecution of witches was not one of them.

Images: Alamy

THE SPANISH INQUISITION

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When it came to forcing non-believers to confess their sins, the Catholic Church would stop at nothing. Even torture

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Find out what daily life was like for the men charged with exposing heresy for the Church

56 **Los Reyes Católicos**
The marriage of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand laid the foundations for the most ruthless and well-known Inquisition in history

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Merciless state apparatus requires an equally unflinching operator. Even among zealots Tomás de Torquemada stood out for his merciless pursuit of heretics

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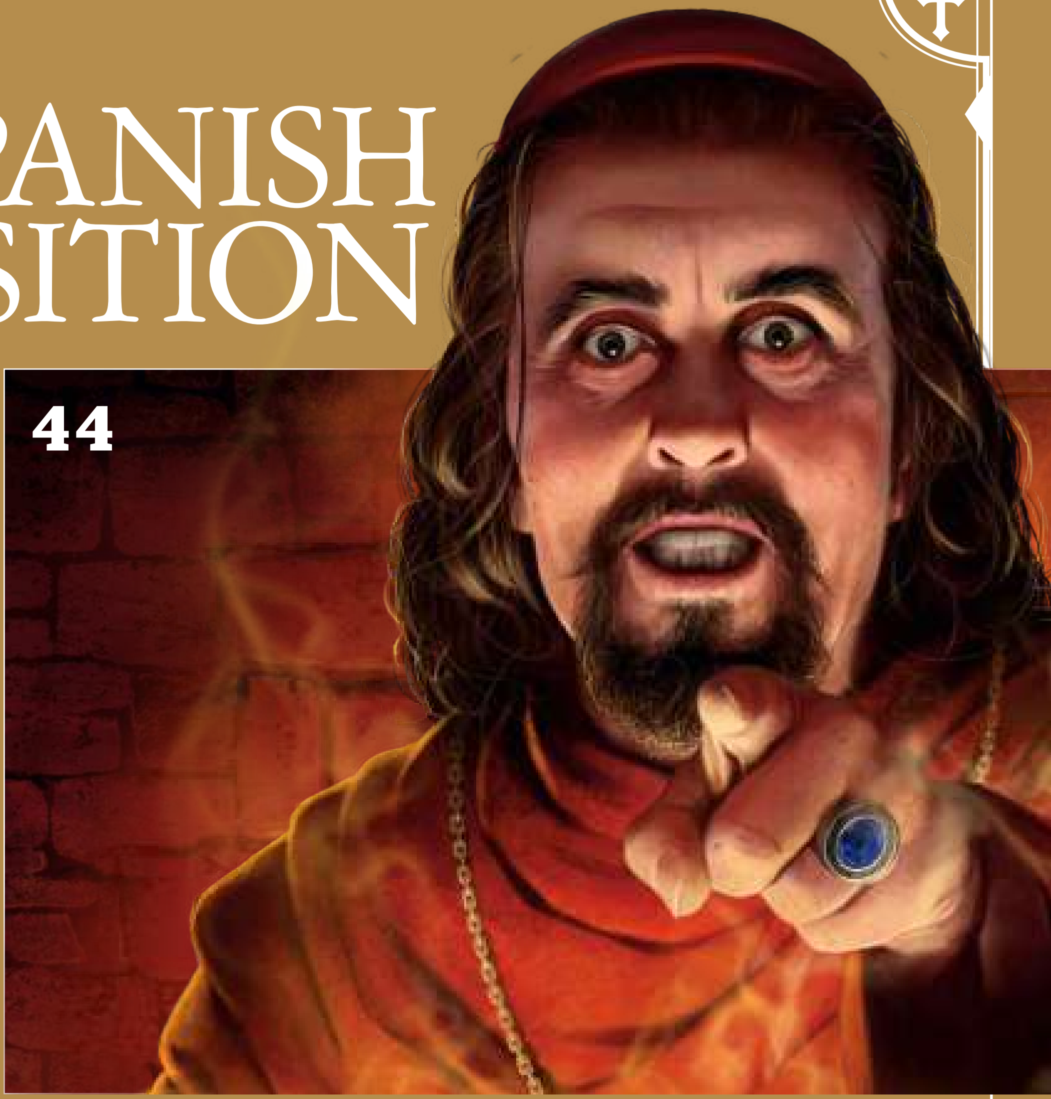
For those who refused to recant and embrace the Church, the fires of eternal damnation awaited

70 **Francisco de Cisneros**
They say that the only thing necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing. However, sometimes a good man can act and still leave the world worse off

> *"Many unfortunate souls would be hung from their arms until their shoulder joints ruptured"*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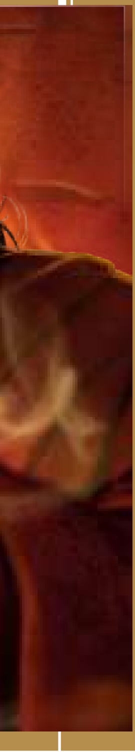

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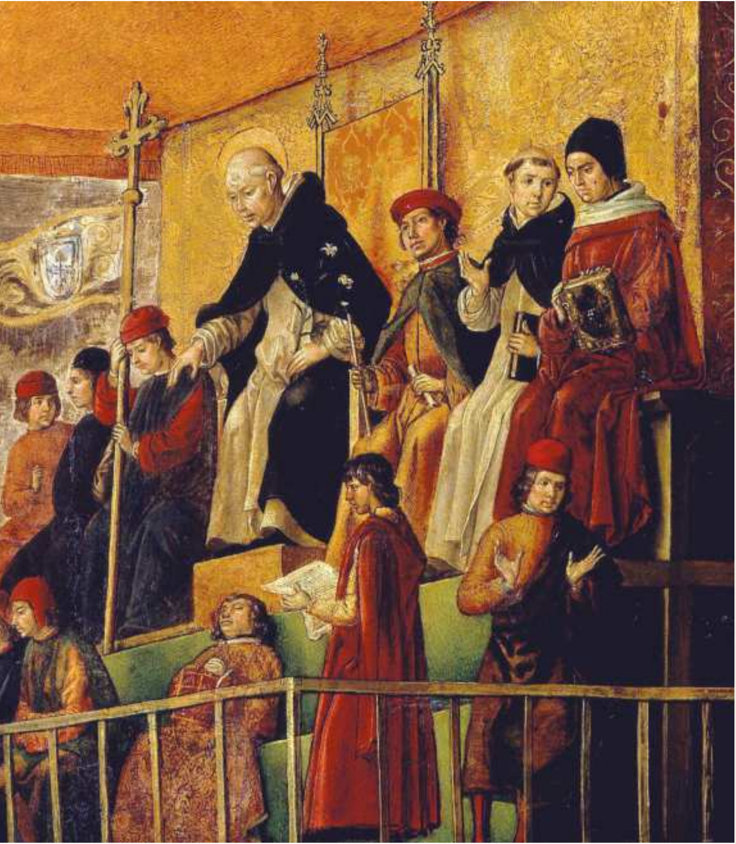

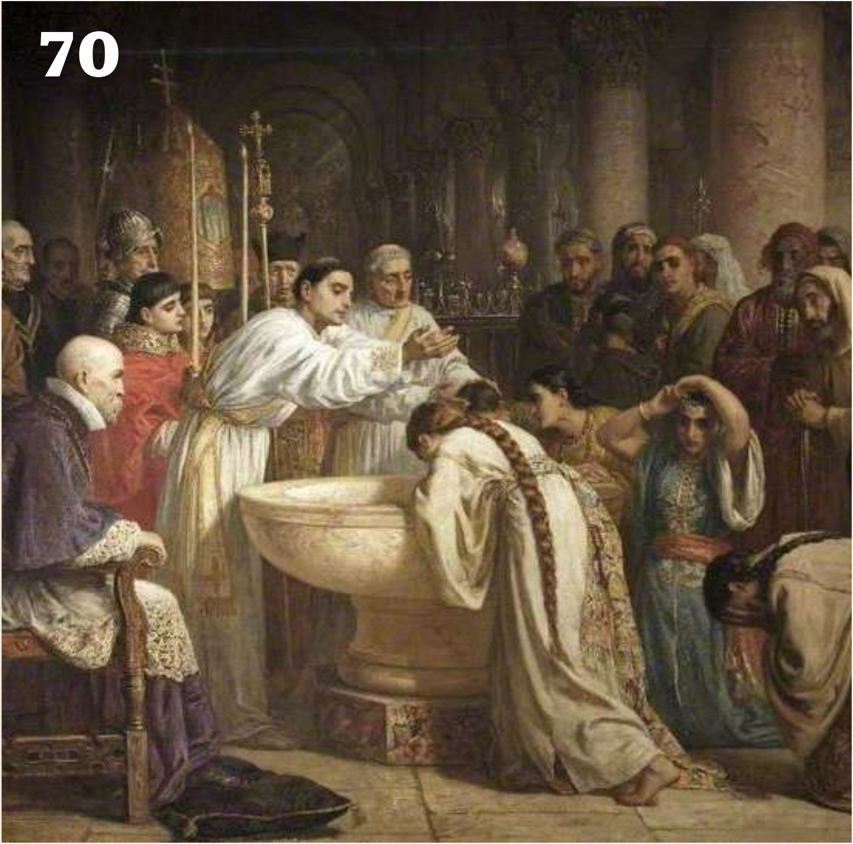

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THE SPANISH INQUISITION

HERETIC HUNTERS

Discover the torture tactics and grisly executions that terrorised a nation

Written by Ben Gazur

It is a Sunday in 1481 and you have just been to church. After the celebration of the mass a sermon is read out. The message of the priest is clear - every sinner in town has 30 days grace to come forward and confess their sins. If you fail to confess you may find yourself tied to a stake, screaming in agony as the flames lick up your scorching flesh. Everyone has been warned. If you're a sinner, a heretic, or are simply deemed suspicious, then you should expect a call from the Spanish Inquisition.

FOUNDING THE TERROR

The Iberian Peninsula of the 15th century was not unified under Spain as it is today. Nor was it wholly Christian. In the early 8th century the Umayyad Caliphate conquered the Visigothic Kingdom of Hispania and controlled almost the entire Iberian Peninsula. For over 700 years there would continue to be sovereign Islamic states there.

Spain under the Muslims (known as al-Andalus) became one of the foremost centres of learning in Europe. Scholarship flourished and many Christians came to learn. Because many Greek texts were lost in Europe but had been preserved in Arabic translations there was much that could be learned in al-Andalus that was otherwise unavailable.

The French scholar Gerbert of Aurillac in the 10th century learned mathematics and science in al-Andalus. He reintroduced the abacus and armillary spheres to Europe and encouraged study of Greek and Arabic texts. When Gerbert was elected to the papacy as Sylvester II, however, some saw his Arabic education as a sign of devilry. He was suspected of witchcraft - some said his vast knowledge was derived from a brazen head automaton that he could consult by using magic. Suspicion between faiths was common at the time.

Yet in al-Andalus, Muslims, Jews and Christians managed to coexist in relative

Illustrations by: Joe Cummings

peace. Some historians speak of La Convivencia – a spirit of toleration that existed between the faiths. This concept may be a simplification, but it is true that many Christians adopted Muslim habits of dress and speech, and Jewish people did not face the persecution they experienced elsewhere in Europe.

For many Christians, however, the presence of Muslim forces in Europe was an affront. Campaigns against al-Andalus began almost at once. These wars, known as the Reconquista, would not stop until the last remnants of the Muslim states in Grenada were finally captured in 1492.

The Iberian Peninsula by then was divided into three main kingdoms: Portugal, Castile and Aragon. Castile was ruled by Queen Isabella and Aragon by her husband King Ferdinand II. Together they ruled one of the great powers of Europe and became known as the Catholic Monarchs (los Reyes Católicos)

While these two were undoubtedly devout Catholics, a question remained; how to protect Catholicism in a realm riddled with those recently converted from Judaism and Islam? The answer was an Inquisition. Inquisitions had been used for centuries across Europe to root out heretics. Cathars, Anabaptists, and Waldensians had all been detected and destroyed by inquisitors sanctioned by the pope.

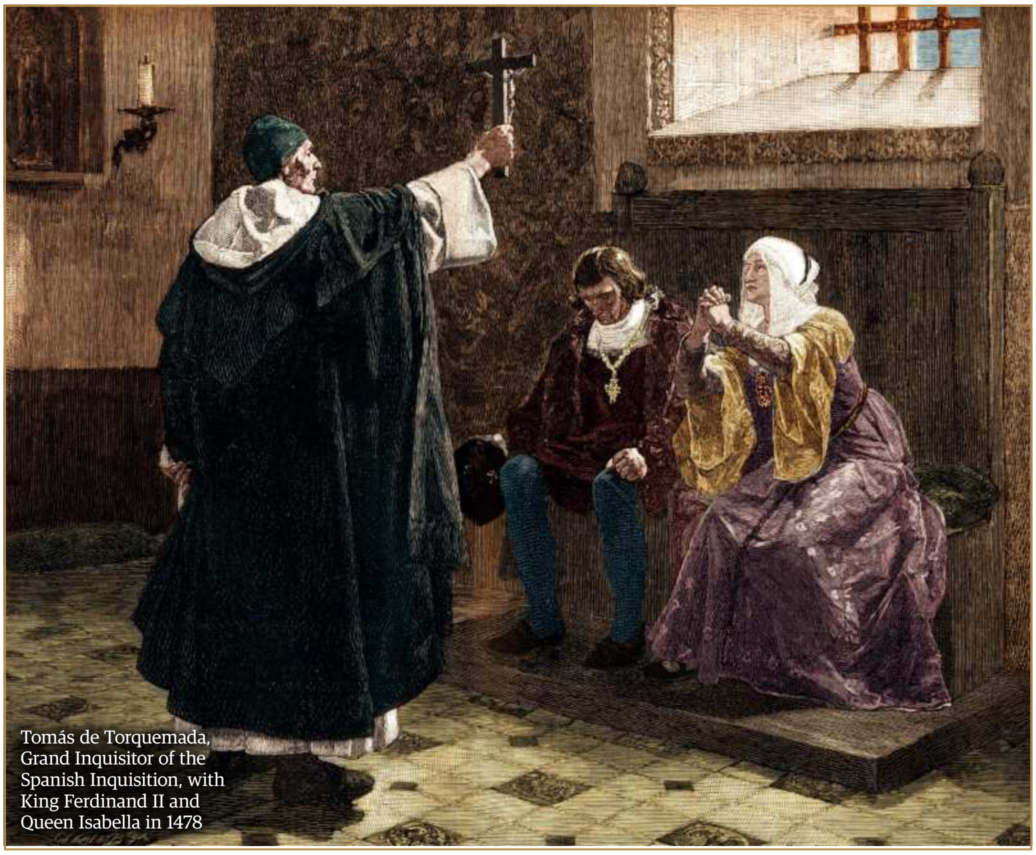
In Spain the Inquisition was to be run differently. A papal bull of 1478 granting the formation of an Inquisition in Spain also gave Ferdinand and Isabella unique control of their investigations into potential heresy. Instead of acting directly under the pope, the inquisitors of Spain were appointed by the monarchs.

UNDER SUSPICION

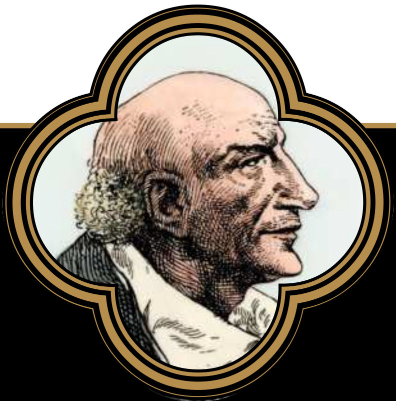
The Spanish Inquisition was a religious institution that had authority only over Christians. Jewish and Muslim people faced so many impediments in Catholic Spain that many had converted to Christianity. These conversos, (converts from Judaism), and moriscos, (converts from Islam), were often treated as highly suspect by their Christian neighbours. In fact it was to hunt down 'crypto-Jews' and secret Muslims among these converts that the Inquisition was initially formed.

There had long been a strong anti-Semitic streak in Christian thought, and in Spain this was revealed by writers such as Alfonso de Espina. In a work of 1460 he openly accused Jewish people of poisoning wells and murdering children, but he also targeted the conversos.

> *"If you're a sinner, a heretic, or simply deemed suspicious, then you should expect a call from the Spanish Inquisition"*



Tomás de Torquemada, Grand Inquisitor of the Spanish Inquisition, with King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella in 1478



MASTER OR MONSTER?

The name Torquemada has become synonymous with the worst excesses of the Inquisition

Tomás de Torquemada was born into a prominent Catholic family in 1420. Despite his later campaigns targeting conversos, one of his ancestors had converted from Judaism. Torquemada struck up a friendship with Princess Isabella and became her personal confessor, giving him access to the highest levels of government when she ascended to the throne.

It was during a royal visit to Seville that Torquemada convinced the king and queen of the dangers posed by the city's large population of former Jews and Muslims. When the Inquisition was given papal approval it was Torquemada who became the first Grand Inquisitor, governing the whole operation of hunting down heretics. For his zeal he was called 'the hammer of heretics, the light of Spain, the saviour of his country, the honour of his order'.

Torquemada created the handbook that would shape Inquisition investigations and set out the punishments doled out to heretics. He ruled that torture could only be used once on a suspect, though the Inquisition managed to get around this by declaring a session of torture 'suspended' to allow them to restart it later. His work did say that "reconciled heretics and apostates should be treated with much mercy and kindness", yet many complained of his harshness.

Torquemada may have been less zealous than some of those who followed him, but he was decisive in getting his monarchs to expel all Jews from Spain in 1492. Those Jewish people who converted in order to stay in Spain then found themselves under the tender ministrations of Torquemada and his Inquisition.

He wrote, "I believe that if a real Inquisition were introduced among us, countless numbers of them would be condemned to the stake; for countless numbers combine the adherence to Jewish customs with the observance of the Christian religion."

This formed the basis of how the Inquisition would operate – hunting down any converso or morisco who still held on to practices from their former religions. When the inquisitors came to a town or city they would read a sermon that enjoined people to either confess their sins or religious backsliding, or for neighbours to come forward and report those they suspected.

The list of ways that people who were clinging to Judaism could be detected was extensive. Did your neighbour's chimney not smoke on a Saturday? That could be a sign that they were observing the Jewish Sabbath. Did they cook with olive oil instead of pork fat? Looks like they might be observing Jewish dietary laws.

Those who converted to Christianity but were suspected of continuing to be Muslim could expect to meet the Inquisition if one of their neighbours saw them keeping Friday as a holy day, wearing clean clothes at suspicious times, or failing to drink wine. Just giving your child a Moorish name was enough to bring the inquisitors calling.

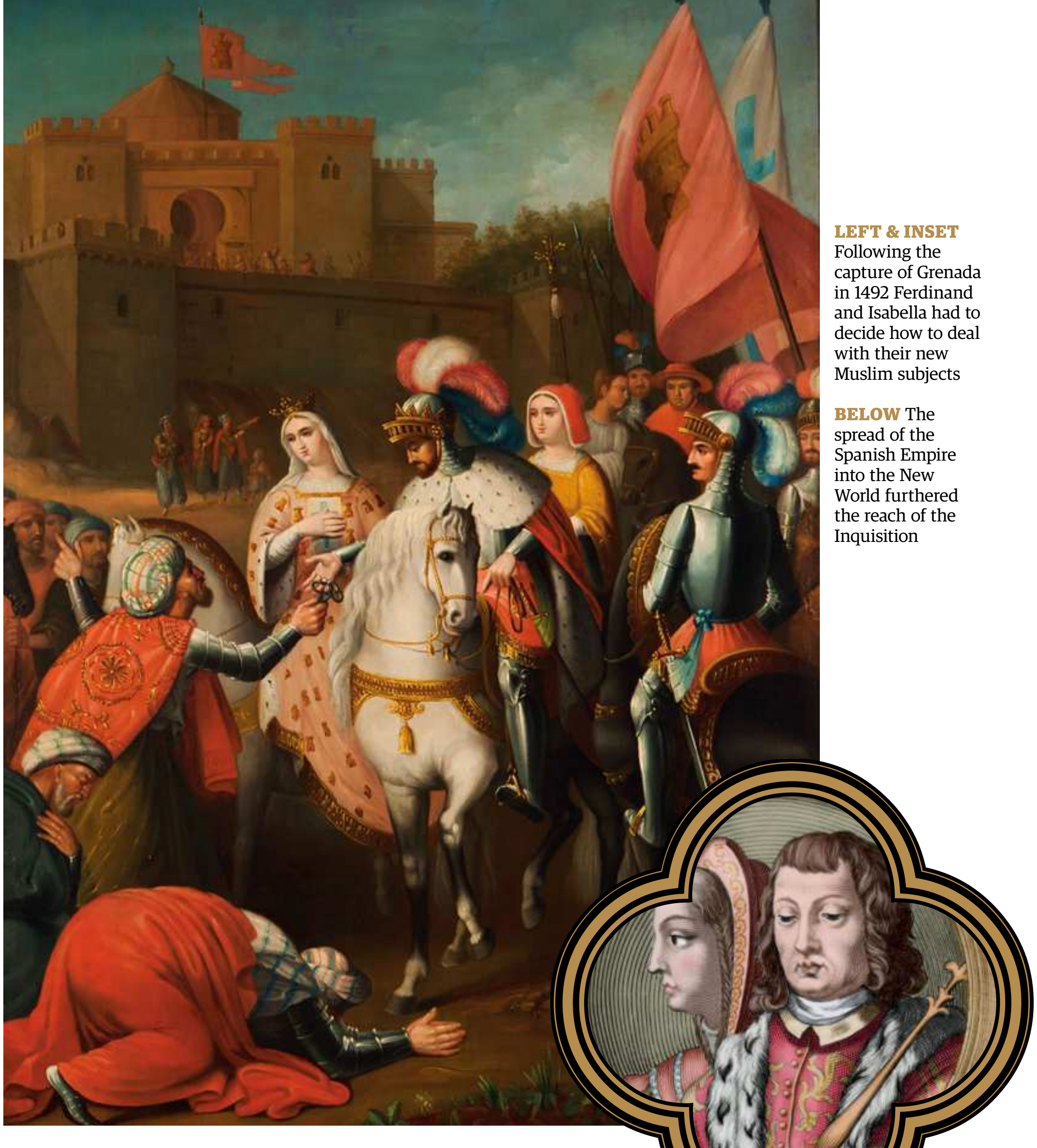
Even death was not enough to escape the attentions of the Inquisition – after you were dead your sins and activities could still be investigated. If you were found guilty then you could be burned in effigy. No one escaped the wrath of the Inquisition.

After the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 following the issuing of the Alhambra Decree, and the reneging on a promise to respect Muslims' faith in Grenada, many thousands of people converted to Christianity to escape deportation. Their conversions, however, brought them under the watchful jurisdiction of the Inquisition.

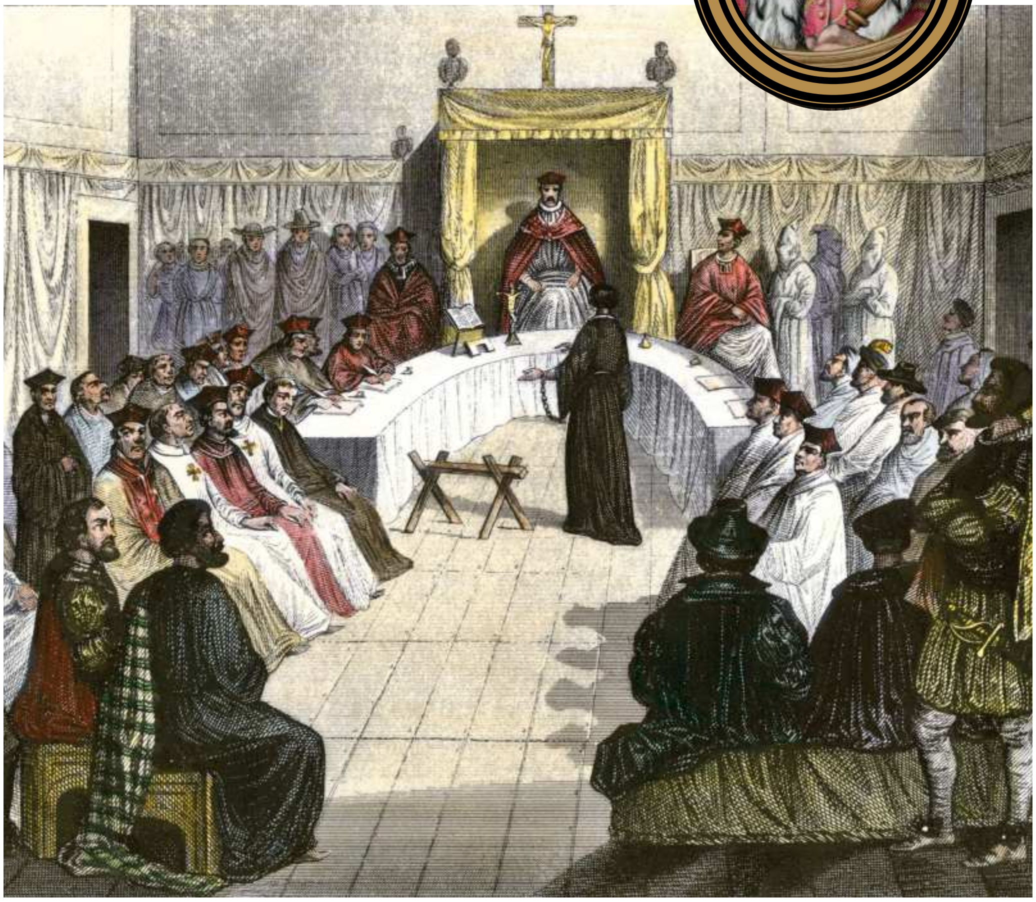
THE COMING OF THE INQUISITORS

Once the Inquisition turned its attention to a certain location the 30 days of grace began in which you could either come forward to confess any wrongdoing or tell them of a neighbour's crimes. Once the period of grace ended the Inquisition would move swiftly. The first sign that you were under suspicion might be a knock on the door.

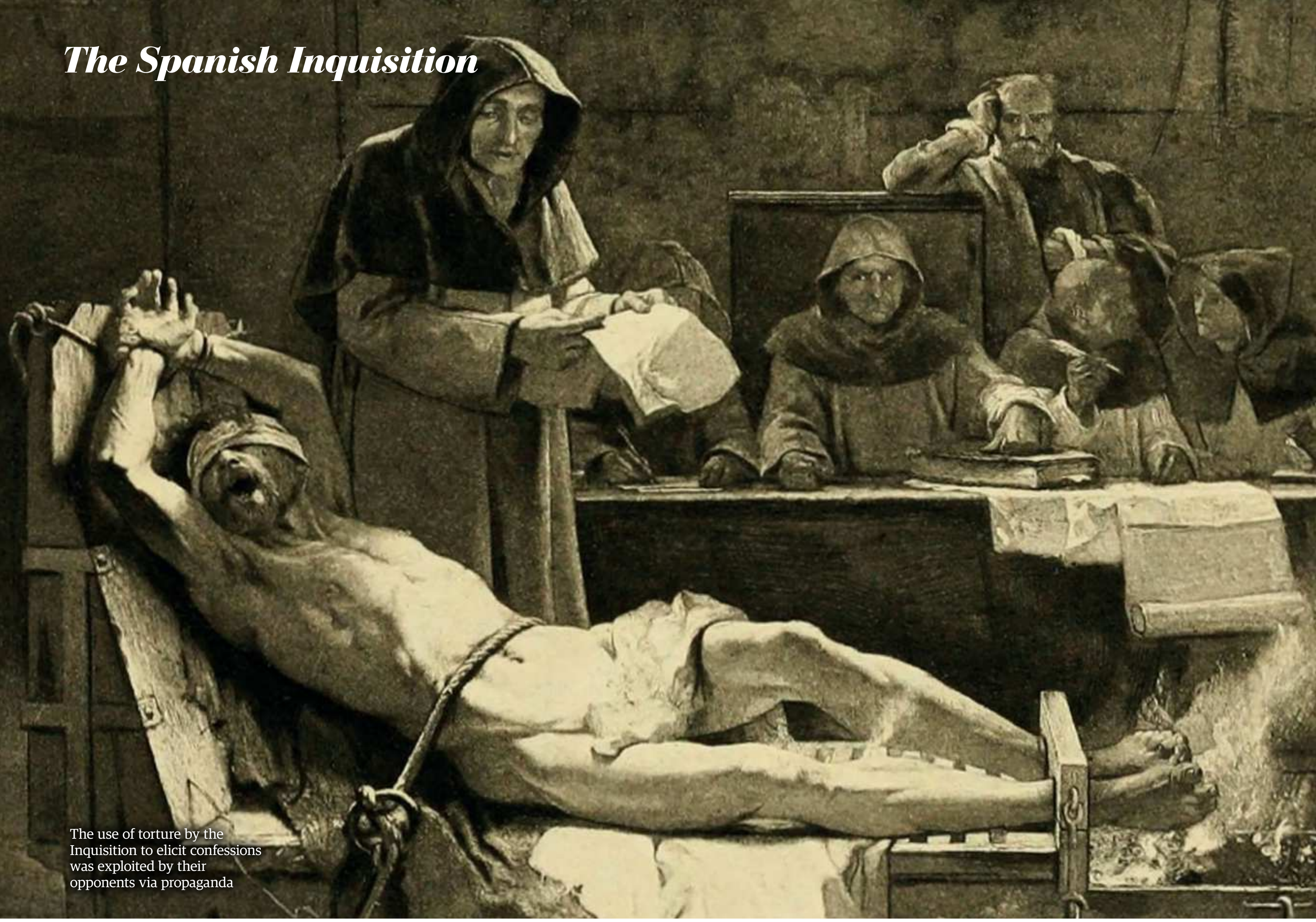
People who were taken by the Inquisition simply disappeared. You might not see a friend for a year or two before they suddenly reappeared. The actions of the Inquisition were kept entirely secret. Agents of the Inquisition were told, "Keep silence as far as the king and the Inquisition are concerned!" Even prisoners were forbidden from revealing what they had seen in Inquisition prisons once released.



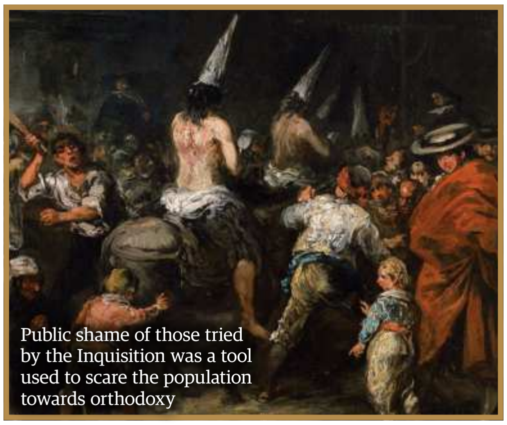
LEFT & INSET Following the capture of Grenada in 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella had to decide how to deal with their new Muslim subjects



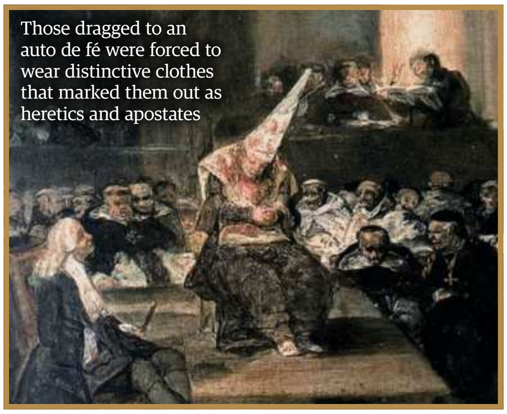
BELOW The spread of the Spanish Empire into the New World furthered the reach of the Inquisition



The use of torture by the Inquisition to elicit confessions was exploited by their opponents via propaganda



Public shame of those tried by the Inquisition was a tool used to scare the population towards orthodoxy



Those dragged to an auto de fé were forced to wear distinctive clothes that marked them out as heretics and apostates

"People who were taken by the Spanish Inquisition simply disappeared from society"

This veil of silence was necessary, according to the Inquisition, to keep them independent and fair in the operation of justice. But for those living under their glare it only increased the fear. Thankfully, the Inquisition kept impeccable records of their activities, so it's possible to reconstruct how it operated.

Once an accusation, or a confession, was heard by the Inquisition the charges were investigated. If they felt that a hearing was warranted then the suspect would be seized. Any goods the suspect owned would also be taken to pay for their period of incarceration. Once inside one of the Inquisition's prisons the suspect was held in solitary confinement, the better to consider the state of their soul.

During the course of several hearings over multiple weeks questions would be posed to the suspect by the inquisitors. The aim was to discover whether the actions of the prisoner pointed to a single lapse, a moral failing, or the holding of heretical doctrines. Confession at this stage would require the prisoner to name any others they knew to hold similar beliefs. Inquisition bred further inquisition. Confession was called "the queen of evidence" and was also considered to be good for the soul.

If a person remained obdurate in their protestations of innocence then a trial would be called. The prisoner would have a defence counsellor, but one appointed by the Inquisition. While all inquisitors were supposed to be highly trained in the law, the process was not one that would be called fair today.

The prisoner was able to defend themselves through the use of whatever evidence they could gather, whether witnesses or written proof. They could also offer explanations for why they may have been acting in an 'un-Christian' way. One converso suspected for not eating pork when it was offered claimed their abstention was based on medical grounds, not religious.

Accusations from others against the captive were read out, but the names of accusers were withheld. It was all too easy for a person with a grudge against a 'New Christian' to fabricate a charge against their neighbour. Of course,

if a person failed to confess there was a final weapon in the arsenal of the Inquisition: torture.

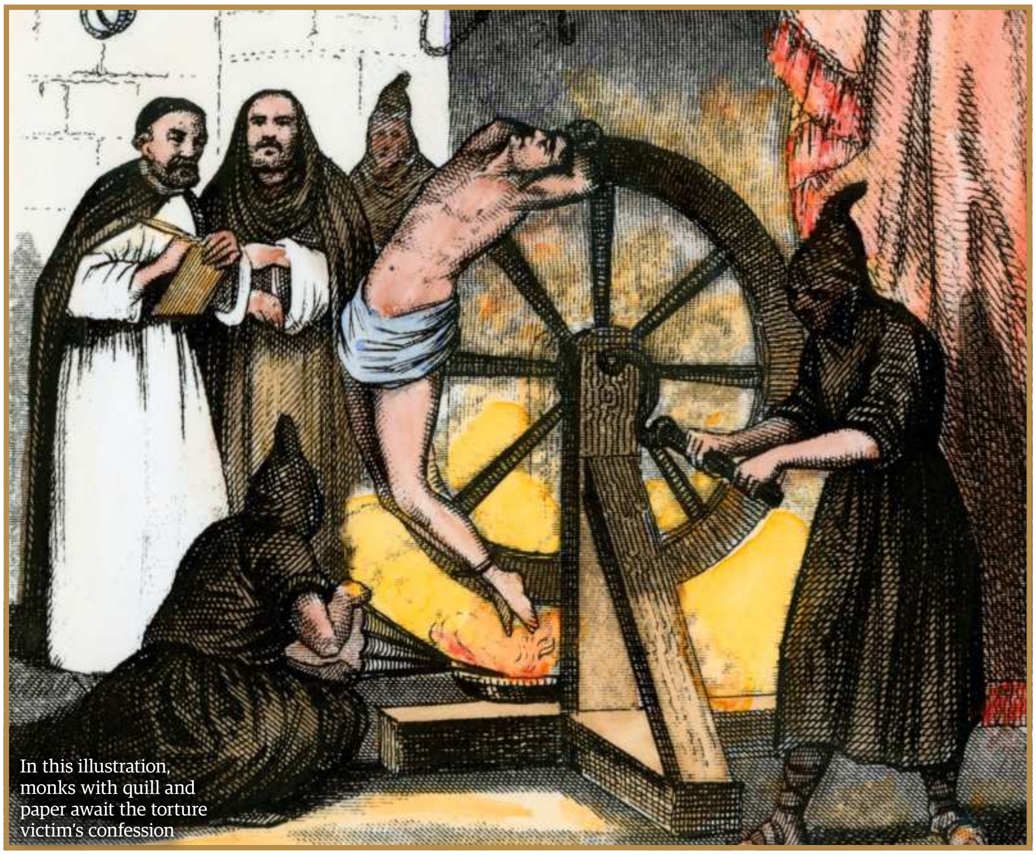
It's thought that around a quarter of those who were accused of a major heresy, or of being a secret Jew or Muslim, were tortured. Those who then confessed their crimes would be questioned a day later to ensure they had not spoken out through pain alone.

With all evidence gathered, a vote would be taken by the inquisitors to decide on the guilt of an individual and then on what the appropriate punishment would be. The official judgement would only be revealed later to the accused in front of a crowd of spectators gathered to watch justice being done in the town square. Looking at a single case in the Inquisition files can reveal much about how 'justice' was administered by this terrifying process.

When the conversa Marina Gonzalez confessed during a period of grace announced in Toledo in 1484, she was forced to admit all the ways she still held to Jewish practices. These ranged from observing the Sabbath all the way down to eating unleavened bread. As well as naming her own sins she named the men she claimed had led her into sinful ways. Gonzalez was reconciled to the Church and let go.

Unfortunately, the Inquisition never forgot what it had heard and a confession could be used against a person years later. In 1494, Gonzalez was hauled in front of the Inquisition once again. The prosecutor claimed she had returned to her sins "like a dog to its vomit". She was named as a heretic and apostate. After the presentation of witnesses and counter-witnesses, the inquisitors voted to put Gonzalez to the 'water torture'. After warning her that "if during the torture some evil, damage, wound, or death occurred to her, it would be her fault and not theirs", she was stripped and put on the rack. A hood was placed over her head and water poured down her nose and throat. After several rounds of this she named others as secret Jews but would not confess her own crimes.

Having been held longer in prison, Gonzalez refused to eat. This was taken as an attempt to kill herself – another sin. The Inquisition was unanimous in its judgement: Gonzalez was guilty. She was "a relapsed heretic and an apostate". She was excommunicated, stripped of all her possessions and handed over for punishment. On 30 June 1494, Gonzalez was burned at the stake.



In this illustration, monks with quill and paper await the torture victim's confession

FIERY ACTS OF FAITH

The auto de fé (the Portuguese auto-da-fé means 'act of faith') was one of the most spectacular events that many Spanish people would see in their entire lives. Often held in the main square of a town the auto de fé was the final step in the process of the Inquisition. Although the guilty had already been sentenced, the first they might hear of their fate would be there, before the eyes of a vast crowd.

The event was always held with great pomp. The auto de fé was not only designed to punish the wicked but to warn those who observed it of the consequences of heresy. They were held on public holidays to ensure maximum attendance, and heralds blew horns and paraded through the streets with the banner of the Inquisition to gather the crowd. There was also the suggestion that to miss it would be to risk excommunication. There would be an unforgettable show for any with the desire (and stomach) to watch.

Events began early with a mass held in the local church. Next came the procession of the sinners. One witness of an auto de fé recalled, "The men were all together in a group, bareheaded and unshod, and since it was extremely cold they were told to wear soles under their feet which were otherwise bare; in their hands were unlit candles [a symbol of their extinguished faith]. The women were together in a group, their heads uncovered and their faces bare, unshod like the men and with candles… With the bitter cold and the dishonour and disgrace they suffered from the great number of spectators (since a great many people from outlying districts had come to see them), they went along howling loudly and weeping and tearing out their hair, no doubt more for the dishonour they were suffering than for any offence they had committed against God."

The sinners were led into the square wearing sanbenitos – sackcloth garments worn by

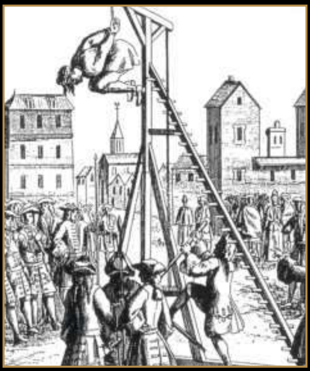
TORTURE FOR THE TRUTH

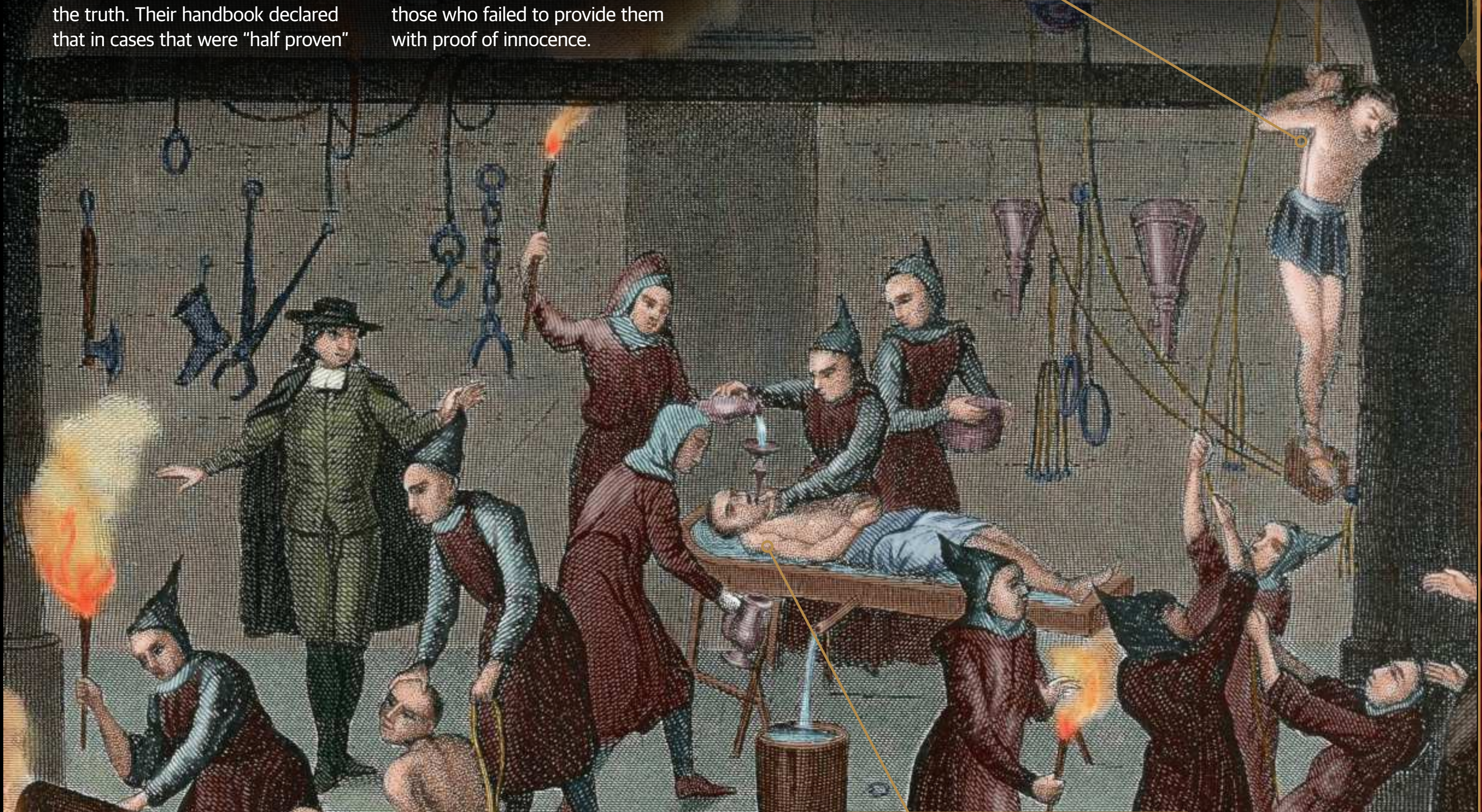
Torture was one of the means by which the Inquisition forced heretics to confess their sins

Confession was the aim of the Spanish Inquisition. To return a heretic or apostate to the Catholic fold the Inquisition had to get the wrongdoer to confess, otherwise they would forever remain outside the Church. They also had to uncover the truth. Their handbook declared that in cases that were "half proven" the accused could be tortured. Because the Inquisition was not supposed to draw blood or mutilate their prisoners their methods of torture were necessarily inventive. With just three methods they managed to draw confessions from those who failed to provide them with proof of innocence.

Strappado

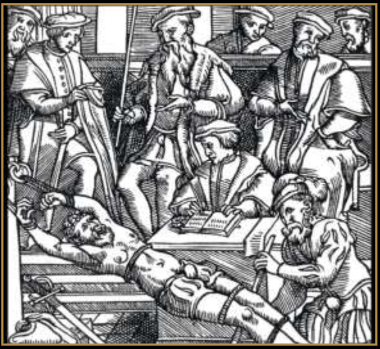
The prisoner had their hands tied behind their back and a rope was then attached to them. They were then pulled upwards by a pulley called the garrucha. The prisoner was then dropped suddenly. When the rope snapped taut the force dislocated the arms from their sockets. Should the prisoner's arms remain in place then weights could be added to the feet and the process repeated.





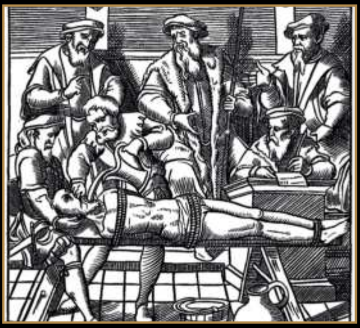
The rack

One of the most common forms of torture was to strap a prisoner to the rack. While other forms of torture on the rack pulled prisoners until their joints snapped, the Spanish Inquisition used constriction in their torture. The ropes tying the accused down could be twisted and tightened so they dug into the flesh of the prisoner. This could be done on the arms, legs and skull of the victim.



Water torture

This method of torture, also known as the toca, saw the accused tied down and jar after jar of water forced down their nose and throat. This was considered a 'gentle' torture and so was often used on women.



Thanks to Inquisitorial records we know the exact words of some of its victims. One woman who was being tortured is documented as saying, "Gentlemen, for God's sake, have mercy on me. Oh Lord! Take these things off my arms, sir, let go of me, they are killing me!"

prisoners to mark them out. Those of the repentant were slashed with red; those who refused to confess their crimes were given sanbenitos decorated with the flames of hell.

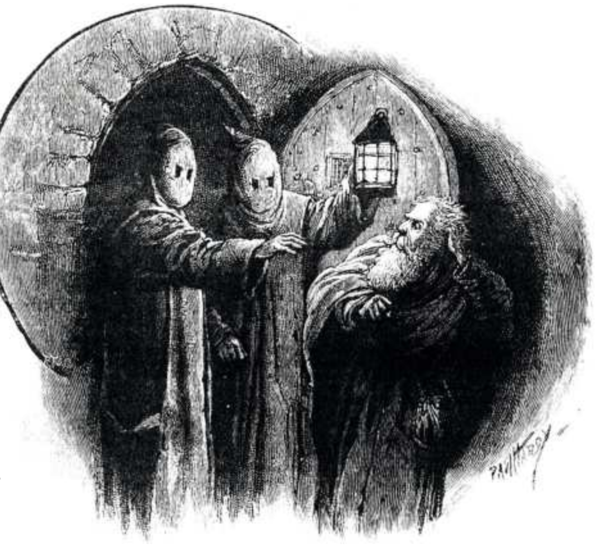
In the square the prisoners were presented before the inquisitors, who sat on a raised stage. Each prisoner was then in turn addressed and every particular of their crimes was read aloud for the whole town to hear. Each was then given the penance that the Inquisition judged to be fair. Even if you escaped with your life the penance may have had lifelong effects. One penance declared, "For the next six Fridays the penitents should promenade through city streets wearing neither shoes nor hats, scourging bared shoulders with cords of hemp. And it was prescribed, moreover, that they should fast on these Fridays, and that for the rest of the days of their lives they should hold no public office… nor wear silk, nor fine scarlet cloth or any coloured fabric, nor gold or silver, nor pearls or coral or any other jewels."

"It is thought that around 4,000 people were executed for their heresy"

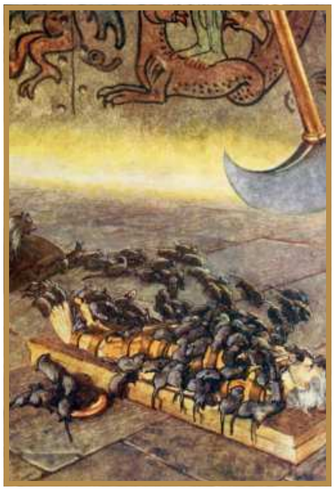
For some the punishment would be a sum of money. Others might get a public flogging. Some faced perpetual imprisonment while others were forced to move into a monastery for a period of years. Perhaps the most fearsome sentence, other than death, was to be sent to work the oars on a galley. Terms of eight years at the oar might well prove to be a life sentence.

Even once the penance was paid there could be more punishments for those found guilty. To be found guilty a second time, after being reconciled to the faith, led to increased penalties. The sanbenito that you had worn to the auto de fé would be hung in the local church, emblazoned with your name so that you would never forget your transgressions. After Martin de Enzinas was executed in 1496 for secretly practising Islam it took his family until 1550 for the sanbenito to be taken down and escape the shame.

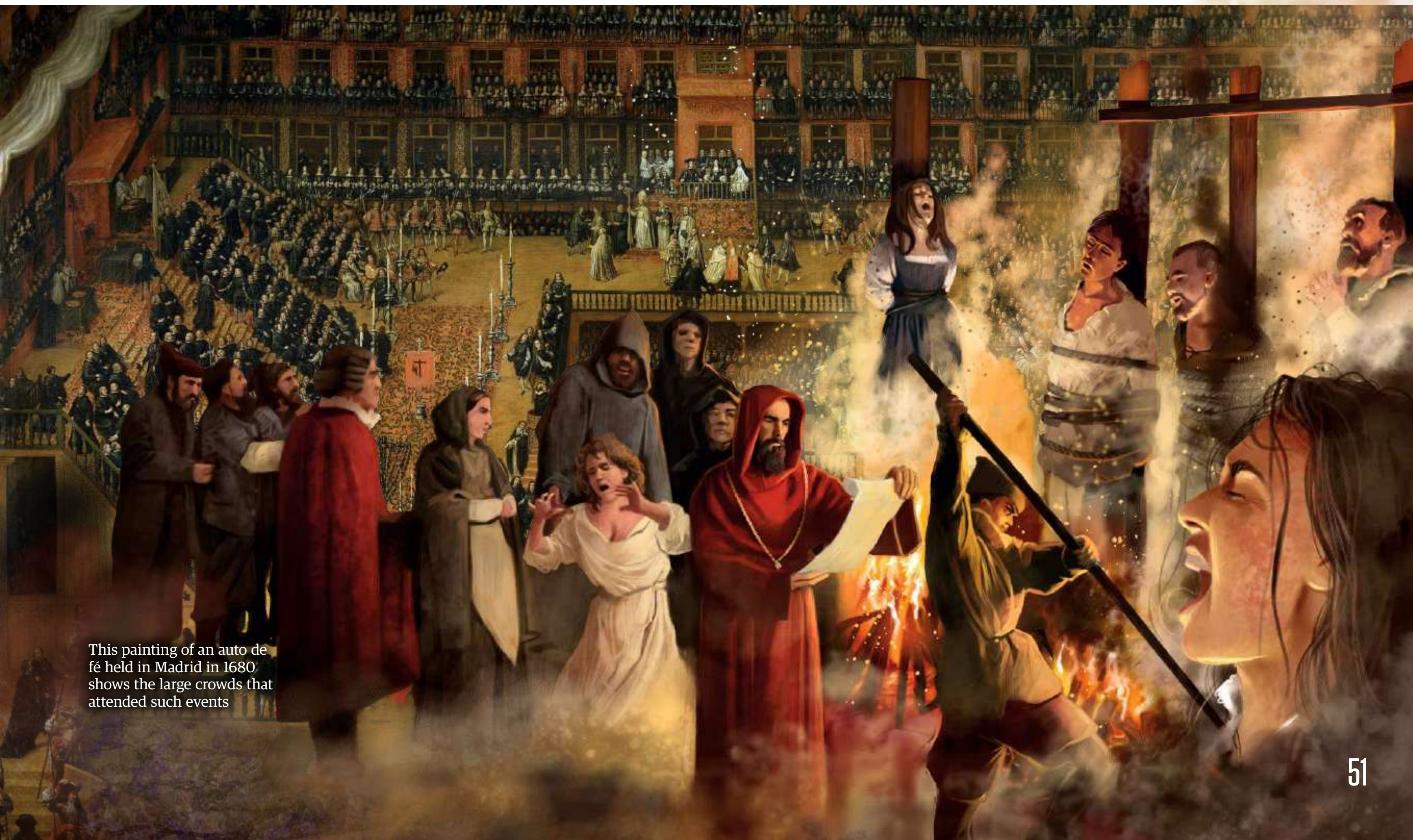
The worst fates were meted out to those guilty of major heresy who refused to repent of their crimes – these people were known as relajados. Their crimes were too serious for the Inquisition to punish so the prisoner was 'relaxed' to the secular arm of the state. Those who were to be put to death were told of their punishment the night before the auto de fé so that they might have one final chance to repent. Repentance at this point might mean you



TOP Victims of the Inquisition were often imprisoned for long periods



LEFT The grisly Inquisition inspired Edgar Allan Poe's *The Pit and the Pendulum*



This painting of an auto de fé held in Madrid in 1680 shows the large crowds that attended such events were mercifully strangled before the fire was lit. Those who refused to repent were carried to a place of execution on the outskirts of the town where they were tied to the stake and incinerated while still alive.

You could not escape by having fled the country or dying before your punishment. Those who were absent from the auto de fé were burned in effigy, because the Inquisition knew what the true purpose of the auto de fé was: one Inquisition text stated that "the end of the trial and execution is not the salvation of the soul of the accused, but it is to achieve the public good by terrorising the people".

THE END OF THE TERROR

The Spanish Inquisition was one of the most feared arms of the state from 1480 until it was finally abolished in 1834. In that time it is thought that around 4,000 people were executed for their heresy, although records do differ. Half of these deaths occurred in the first few decades of the Inquisition's ministry – it seems that fear of the Inquisition may have been effective.

There were acts of resistance against the actions of the Inquisition. Some powerful lords limited the role of the Inquisition in their domain and some religious groups also opposed it. Friar Hernando de Talavera wrote that "neither the Jew nor the Moor should be punished for keeping their faith… nor should they be forced to adhere to the Catholic faith".

Even the pope wrote once that the Inquisition needed reform, declaring, "Many true and faithful Christians, because of the testimony of enemies, rivals, slaves and other low people, and still less appropriate, without tests of any kind, have been locked up in secular prisons, tortured and condemned like relapsed heretics, deprived of their goods and properties, and given over to the secular arm to be executed, at great danger to their souls, giving a pernicious example and causing scandal to many."

Despite complaints about their brutal methods only two inquisitors were killed while doing their duties. One, Pedro de Arbues, was assassinated – apparently at the hands of a converso conspiracy. The other was Juan Lopez De Cisneros, who was killed by the monk he was interrogating when the prisoner angrily swung his chains at the inquisitor.

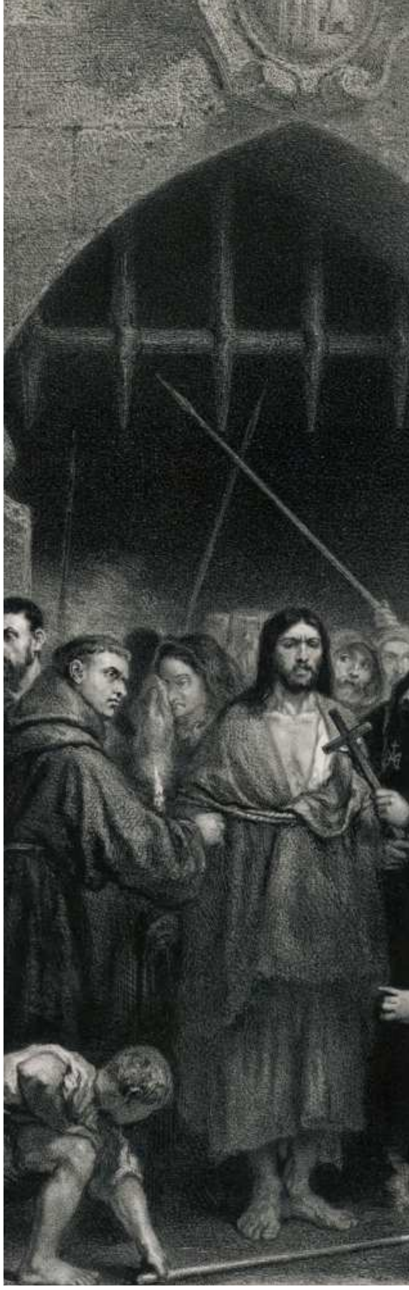
Over time, the role of the Inquisition changed. At first its targets were mainly the former

RIGHT
The burning of apostates and heretics was officially done by the secular arm of the state

BELOW LEFT
An 18th-century engraving depicting people being burned in Lisbon, Portugal

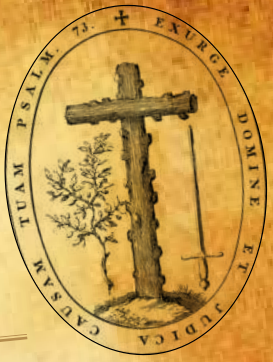
BELOW MIDDLE
Those sentenced to burn at the stake were dressed in sanbenitos decorated with devils, dragons and the flames that awaited them

BELOW RIGHT
Francisco Goya's *Night Scene from the Inquisition*, 1810



THE BLACK LEGEND

Protestants were quick to exaggerate the evils of the Inquisition

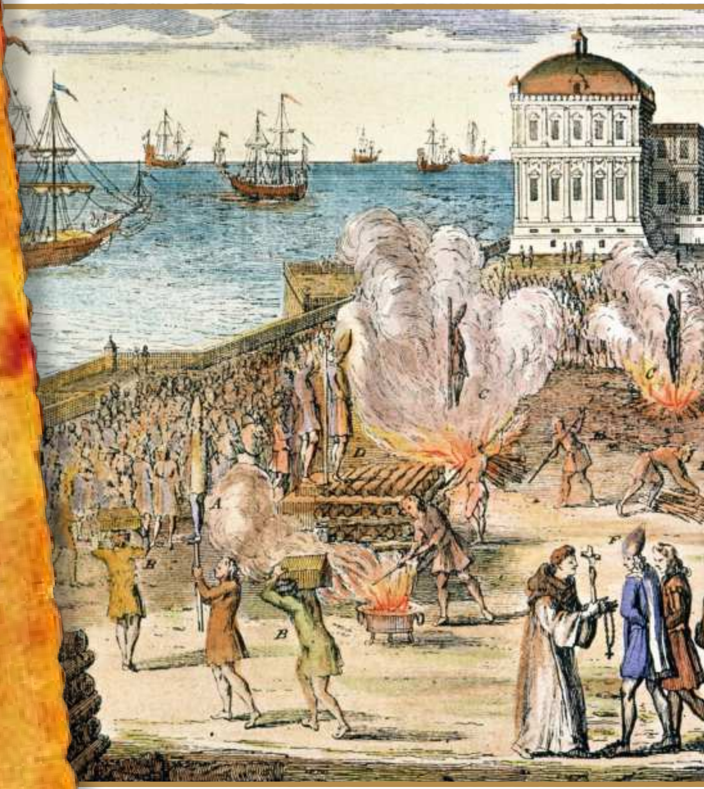

EXURGE DOMINE ET JUDICA CAUSAM TUAM PSALM. 73.

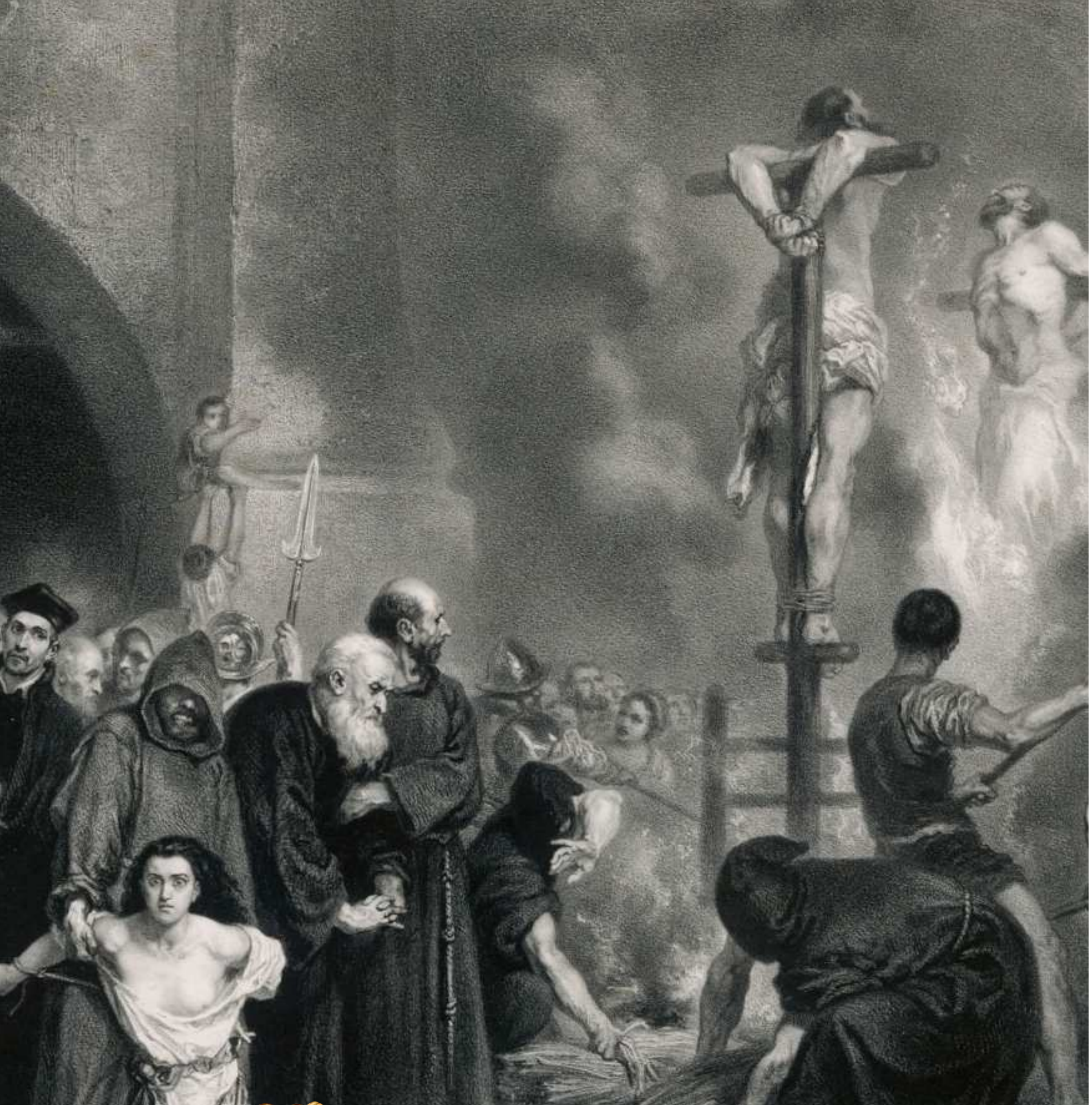
Throughout the 16th century, Spain largely managed to keep out Protestants and their Reformation. The Inquisition was always on the hunt for heretics and managed to destroy any books that sought to bring the thinking of Calvin or Luther into their territories. Yet the kings of Spain ruled vast domains that included many Protestants.

Under Philip II of Spain rumours spread that he wished to introduce the Spanish Inquisition to the Netherlands. Books and pamphlets began to spread about the horrors this would bring. One, written under the pseudonym Montanus, was called *A Discovery and Plaine Declaration of Sundry Subtill Practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spain*. John Foxe's famous *Book of Martyrs* included a whole chapter on "The execrable Inquisition of Spayne". Woodcuts and illustrations spread images of the tortures the Inquisition used.

For hundreds of years the Inquisition was used to paint Spain as a backwards and cruel nation. During the enlightenment Voltaire included an auto de fé in his novel *Candide* and described how the burning of heretics was believed to prevent earthquakes.

Some historians have questioned the common view of the Inquisition. How often was torture really used? How many victims died? Was it anti-Semitic? With better access to the Inquisition's own records these questions are beginning to be explored.





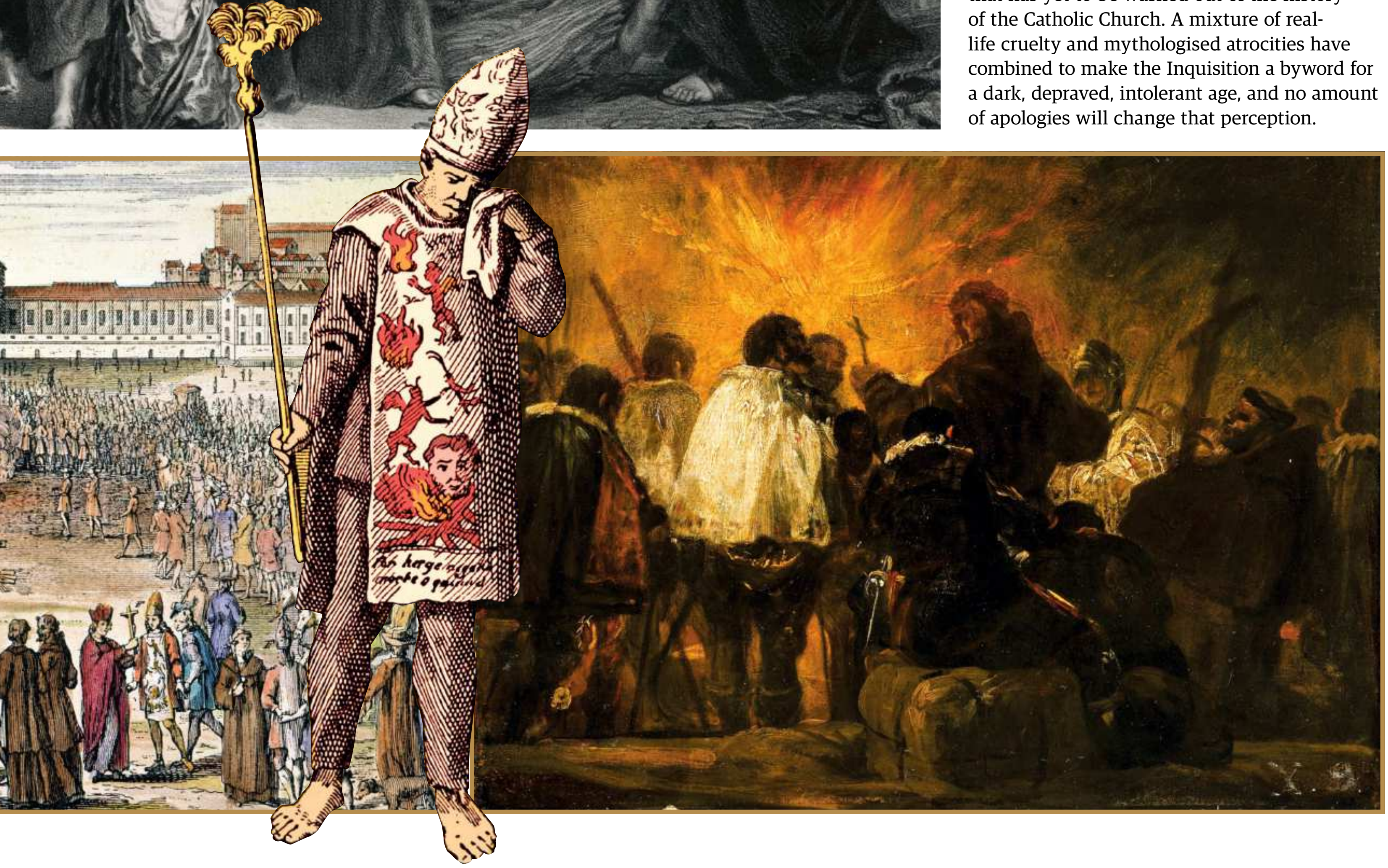
> “Bigamy, sodomy and simple fornication all fell under the Inquisition’s dominion”

Jewish and Muslim populations, but as they integrated into the wider population minor heresies and sins became its focus. Bigamy, sodomy and simple fornication all fell under the Inquisition’s dominion. In fact, over its entire history the majority of cases brought before the Inquisition were for sins such as these.

The Reformation gave the Inquisition a new set of targets – those who tried to introduce Protestant reforms to Catholic Spain. Ironically, it may have been the Enlightenment that extended the life of the Inquisition as the doubts of the philosophes had to be stopped from spreading into Spain.

The Inquisition was finally suppressed in 1834. There would be no more secret trials, burnings or the compiling of dossiers against suspected sinners. Even books that had been banned by the Inquisition were now permitted to be published and sold.

The stain of the Spanish Inquisition is one that has yet to be washed out of the history of the Catholic Church. A mixture of real-life cruelty and mythologised atrocities have combined to make the Inquisition a byword for a dark, depraved, intolerant age, and no amount of apologies will change that perception.



Images: Getty Images, Alamy

DAY IN THE LIFE
OF AN OFFICER OF THE SPANISH INQUISITION

Spain, 16th century

Established in 1478 with the aim of ensuring the 'orthodoxy' of the Catholic faith – achieved by ordering Muslims and Jews to convert or leave – the Spanish Inquisition became infamous as a state-sanctioned tool of repression and torture, a perception that exists to this day. Although it was headed up by larger-than-life individuals, like Tomás de Torquemada, as with many repressive regimes throughout history, its enforcers were for the most part normal people who believed in what they were doing. Here we take a look at how they did it.

STARTING THE DAY

Around this time, the working day for an officer of the Spanish Inquisition would commence. During the 16th century the majority of its members were composed of people from the agrarian middle class and wealthy bourgeoisie, with this hierarchy eventually shifting more toward the aristocracy as time progressed. By the 18th century, Inquisition officers were almost exclusively recruited from the ranks of nobility.

COLLECTING REPORTS

Much of the Inquisition's knowledge came from a network of informants. Spain was predominantly rural at the time and the inquisitors relied on their spies as their eyes and ears, so maintaining a reliable network was essential. Once they arrived in an area they would call for reports on those suspected of heresy, with anyone providing information generally being rewarded.

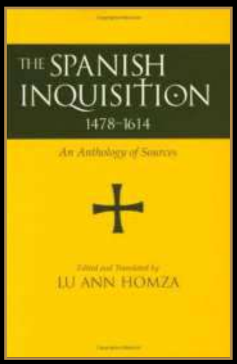
LEGAL WORK

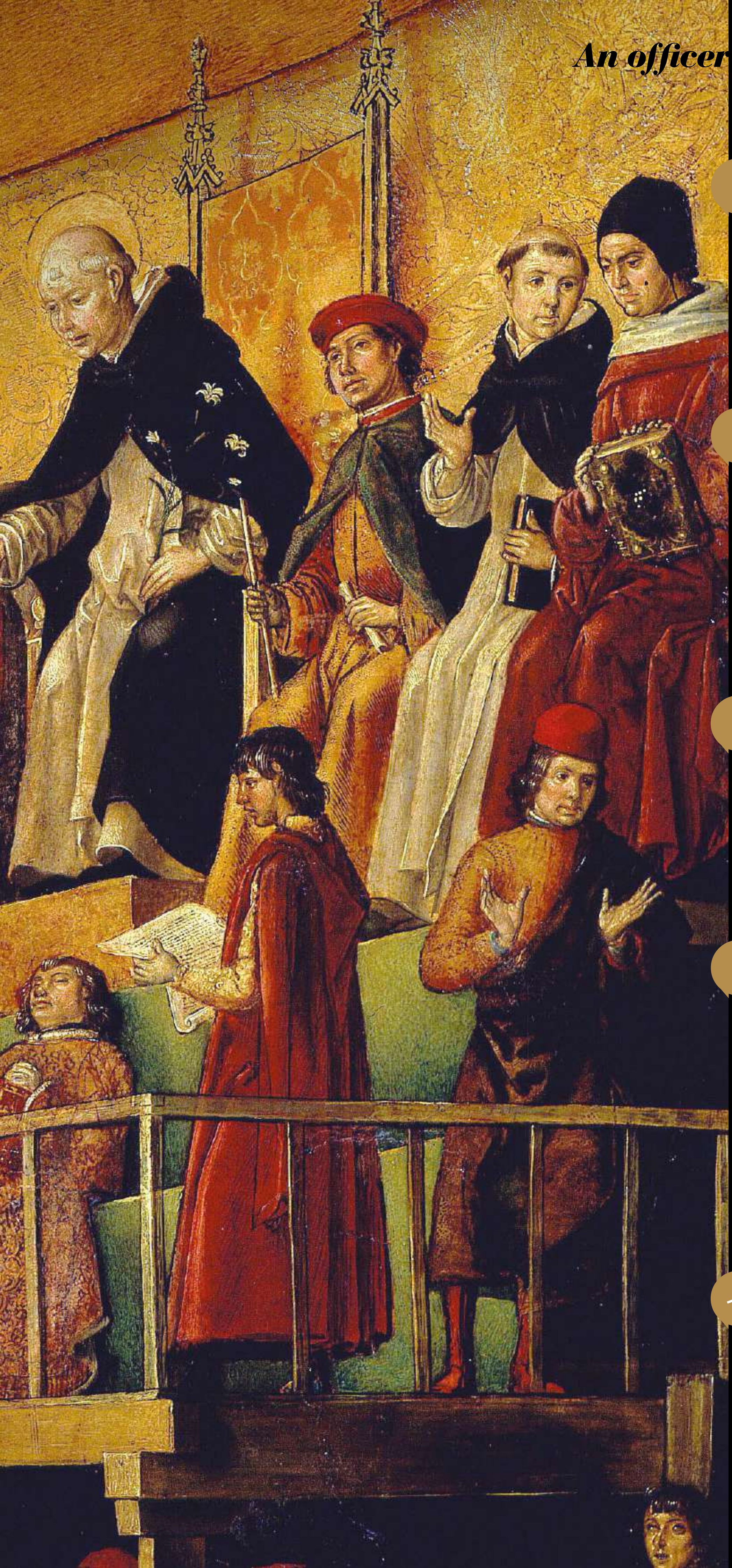
Inquisitors were certified, university-trained lawyers, and as such they were required to keep on top of their game in this regard. Being an official in the Spanish Inquisition had its advantages, be they financial or social, as well as in terms of power and influence. However, it also left them open to resentment and conflict from their neighbours and subjects, and as such they always had to be on their guard.

> *"Inquisitors relied on their spies as their eyes and ears, so maintaining a reliable network was essential"*

HOW DO WE KNOW THIS?

The Rare Books & Special Collections section of the Hesburgh Libraries of Notre-Dame website provided a particularly useful grounding in the subject matter, giving information on the motivations and responsibilities of officers, as well as an overview of their hierarchy. Similarly, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614* by Lu Ann Homza details a series of informative accounts of the tribunal process, as well as the various types of interrogation and torture methods that were used during the time period.





An officer of the Spanish Inquisition

DENUNCIATION

After swearing a denunciation of a particular individual or group who had caused offence, a so-called 'term of grace' was routinely issued, consisting of 30 to 40 days, during which time the suspects were allowed to prepare their own defence while the inquisitor prepared his case. The accused was provided with a lawyer and was not allowed to be officially questioned unless in the company of two disinterred priests.

BRINGING A SUSPECT IN FOR QUESTIONING

The suspect was given the benefit of their own lawyer, although they weren't allowed to know the identity of their accuser(s). Those accused by Spanish Inquisition officers were effectively considered guilty until they were found to be innocent, which in the process greatly skewed the odds of a fair trial.

CONDUCT TRIBUNAL

Inquisitors would travel the country conducting tribunals, which comprised two inquisitors, a secretary and other members. It usually began with an edict of grace after a Catholic Mass, following which the accused would be encouraged to confess their transgressions. Officers were trained in interrogation techniques, specifically in how to question the accused in a confusing or misleading manner, thus getting them to admit guilt.

INTERROGATION & TORTURE

If the accused was unwilling to confess, various methods of torture were used, either by the inquisitors themselves or while they were in attendance. These included starvation, as well as instruments like the rack and methods like strappado. Mutilation through the use of thumbscrews, pincers and the like was officially banned, although in 1256, Pope Alexander IV had decreed that officers could clear each other of using them, effectively creating a loophole inquisitors would later exploit.

REPORTING TO THE GRAND INQUISITOR

The hierarchy of the Spanish Inquisition was quite rigidly structured. Officers from courts around the country would report to one of the five members of the High Council. The High Council's members reported to the grand inquisitor, who in turn was chosen by – and answerable to – the king of Spain.

© Alamy

LOS REYES CATÓLICOS

They should have been obscure aristocrats. Instead the unpredictable outcome of their dramatic love story saw Ferdinand and Isabella unite the kingdoms of Spain under Christian law

Written by April Madden

It was like the ending of a fairy tale. The young princess of Castile was radiant. Isabella was everything a noble maiden should be: educated, artistic, devout, and unlike many women of her class at the time, she was marrying for love. Her story so far would have rivalled the ballads of any troubadour. After her father's death, Isabella's despotic half-brother had inherited his throne as Henry IV of Castile. Trapping his half-siblings Isabella and Alfonso in a desolate fortress in the city of Arévalo, where they were frequently short of food, fuel and clothing, Henry then tried to marry his younger sister off to a succession of kings and princes in order to further his pursuit of power, even though Isabella had been pledged to Ferdinand of Aragon since the two were children.

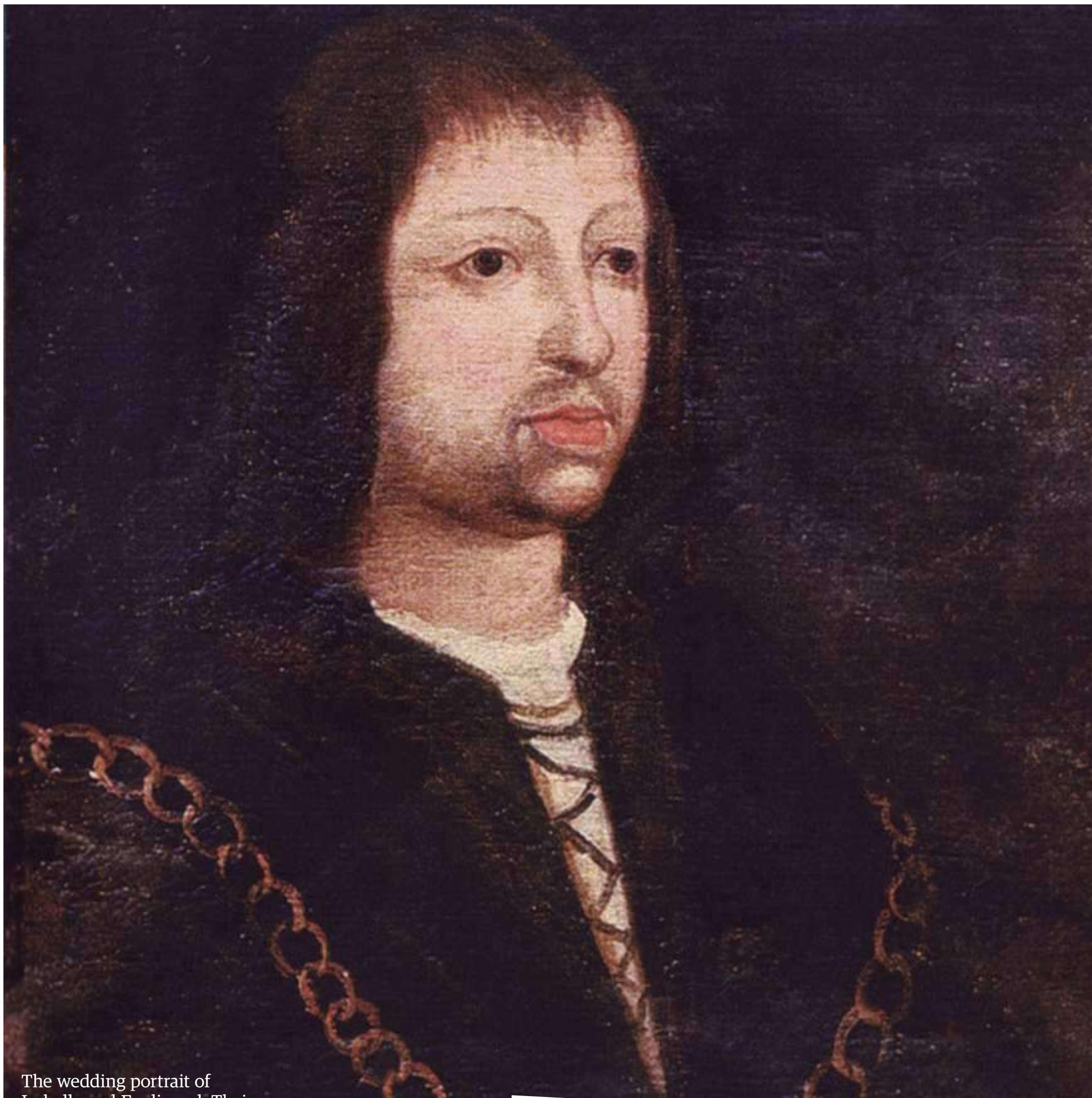
In spite of Henry's machinations, it was her adored Ferdinand that stood beside her now in the Sala Rica, the great hall of the Palacio de los Viveros. Isabella had prayed, and God had answered her. One by one the matches that Henry had negotiated to benefit himself had come to naught. It was 19 October 1469, and a couple of nights ago Isabella had politely asked for and been given Henry's permission to journey from his court in Segovia to Avila, to pay her respects at the grave of their younger brother Alfonso, who had died the year before at the age of 14. Instead, she had ridden hard for Valladolid, the seat of Castilian political power. Meanwhile, her beloved Ferdinand had crossed hostile territory disguised as a servant, bearing a holy dispensation that would allow him to marry Isabella despite the obstacles against their union. The lovers' daring elopement had succeeded against incredible odds, and now, here in Castile's justicial palace, they were finally married. For thousands of their future victims, though, the wedding of Ferdinand and Isabella would not be happy ever after, but instead the beginning of years of torment.

While Isabella and Ferdinand were madly in love, their marriage was still an arranged one, planned by their parents when the couple were children to cool the fractious relationship between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. When Henry came to the Castilian throne, however, the union of his shrewd younger sister with the increasingly volatile Aragonese royal family was a threat not only to his political ambitions but to his tenuous grip on power. Known as the 'Impotent', Henry IV was not a well-liked king, and the young Alfonso of

> *"The lovers' daring elopement had succeeded against incredible odds"*

Castile had died while prosecuting a civil war against his older brother, backed by a cabal of nobles. Henry had no sons, and his daughter Joanna was widely reputed to be the illegitimate child of another man. Isabella's marriage to Ferdinand had the potential to topple Henry's already unsteady throne, and he did everything in his power to prevent it. He reckoned without Isabella. Given power of veto over her brother's choices, she rejected princes, kings and dukes from as far afield as France and England and secretly restarted negotiations with John II of Aragon for his son Ferdinand's hand. In retribution, Henry wiped out her claim to Castile. Ferdinand, meanwhile, though his stunning looks, knightly prowess and fearsome intelligence had already made him one of Europe's most eligible bachelors, had never been meant to ascend to the regal heights he'd already scaled – he was from a cadet branch of the House of Trastámara and at his birth his father was a mere duke, the nephew of Alfonso V of Aragon. A series of family feuds and untimely deaths saw the young lordling go from minor duke-in-waiting to ascending the Sicilian throne the year before his marriage to Isabella. He was just 17.

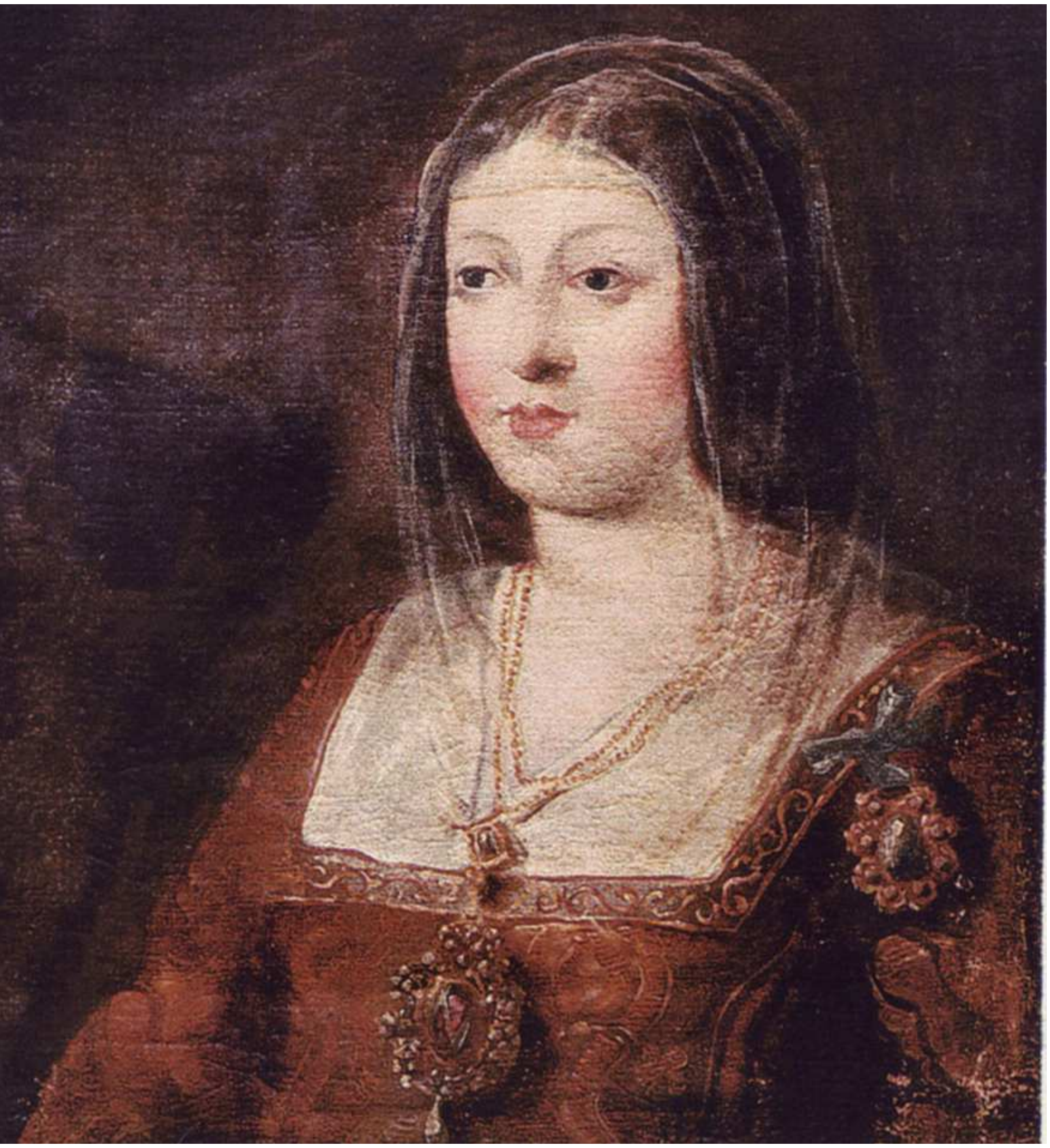
> “As king of Sicily, Ferdinand ruled over a nation that had been a cultural melting pot for centuries”



The wedding portrait of Isabella and Ferdinand. Their union would eventually see them unify Spain and begin the terror of the Spanish Inquisition

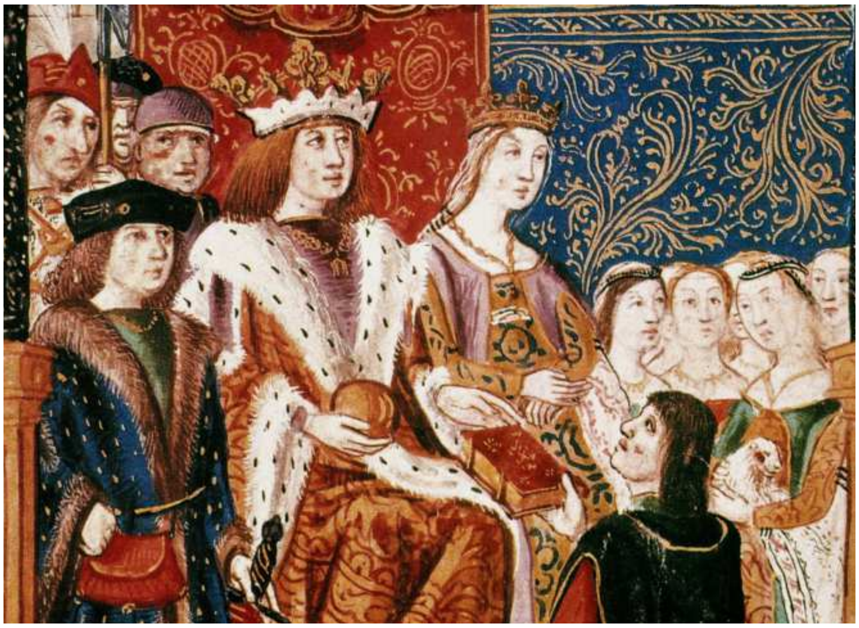
As king of Sicily, Ferdinand ruled over a nation that had been a cultural melting pot for centuries. Medieval and Renaissance Sicilian culture combined elements of Byzantine, Arabic and Norman traditions and arts, and its society was cheerfully multicultural, with Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities all long established and co-existing in relative peace. Like Sicily, for centuries the multicultural kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula had flourished under a system known as Convivencia – ‘living together convivially’. It wasn't entirely peaceful and harmonious, but in day-to-day life members of Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities could live in the same cities or visit other kingdoms and expect, if not an open-armed welcome, then at least tolerance. This made the area into a medieval intellectual powerhouse. Classical knowledge that had been forgotten by the rest of Europe had been preserved by the Arab scholars of al-Andalus (the Muslim-ruled areas), who had picked it up from the Arabian conquests of the old Persian Empire. Cultural links with other Arabic-speaking or Islamic nations across the Middle East and North and West Africa meant that al-Andalus had access to scientific and philosophical information held in the great Muslim libraries of Baghdad, Alexandria and Timbuktu. Alchemy, the forerunner of modern chemistry, first made its way into Europe via Muslim Spain. Medicine, mathematics and astronomy flourished. It was a jewel of the Islamic Golden Age and as vital to the pan-European cultural flowering of the Renaissance as the rediscovery of classical art and design in Italy.

The Church that influenced the Christian kingdoms bordering al-Andalus, however, did not see it in quite the same light as history does. For them their southern neighbours were a physical, spiritual threat. Every so often disputes would break out, sometimes fuelled by al-Andalusian



LEFT The text of the Alhambra Decree, or Edict of Expulsion, signed by Ferdinand and Isabella. They feared that non-Christians were a threat to their newly established Christian Spain

RIGHT Royal couple Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon became the rulers of a unified Spain when they inherited the thrones of their respective kingdoms in the 1470s



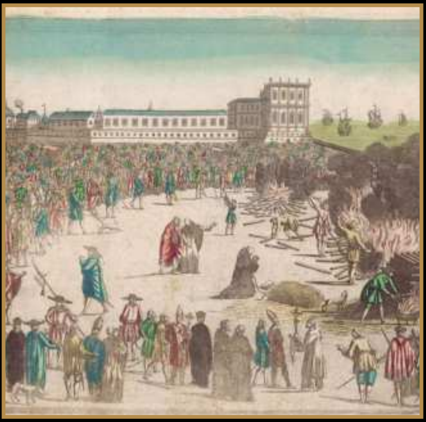
THE PORTUGUESE INQUISITION

Portugal's Inquisition targeted Jewish refugees fleeing from Spain, as well as Africans, Muslims, Hindus and more

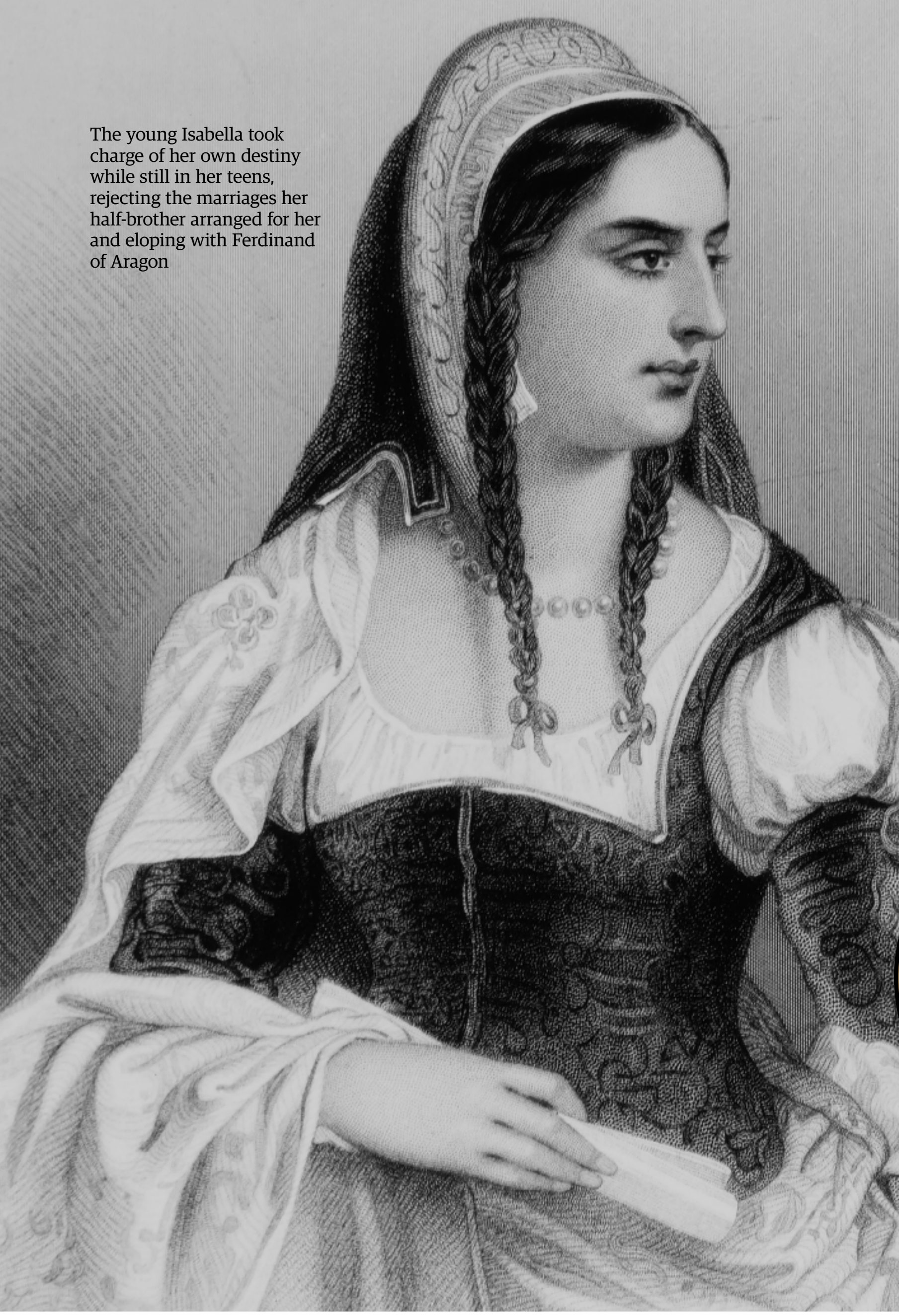
Isabella and Ferdinand's relationship with the Portuguese royal family had been somewhat frosty since the War of the Castilian Succession, but the marriage of two of their daughters into the House of Aviz aimed to change that. Manuel I of Portugal married first Isabella of Aragon and then, when she died, her younger sister Maria. The Catholic Monarchs set a condition on the marriages: Manuel had to set up an Inquisition of his own.

The General Council of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Portugal became a reality in 1536. By then Manuel I had been dead for over ten years. Portugal's king was now John III, the son of Manuel and Maria of Aragon. He had all the fervent faith of his mother's side of the family and was known as John the Pious. The first Grand Inquisitor of the Portuguese Inquisition was his brother Henry, who would later become Henry the Chaste, the Cardinal-King.

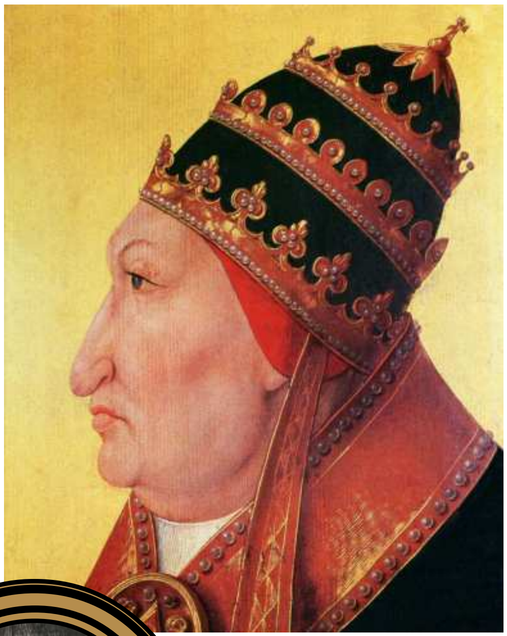
The Portuguese Inquisition initially focused on Spanish Jewish refugees who had fled to their nearest neighbour, as well as practitioners of traditional African religions who had been caught up in the Portuguese Empire's devastating slave trade. It then turned its attention to Portugal's territories overseas, including Brazil, Cape Verde and the Indian state of Goa, where it attacked Hindus with the same ferocity it showed to Jews, Muslims, indigenous South Americans and the African diaspora.

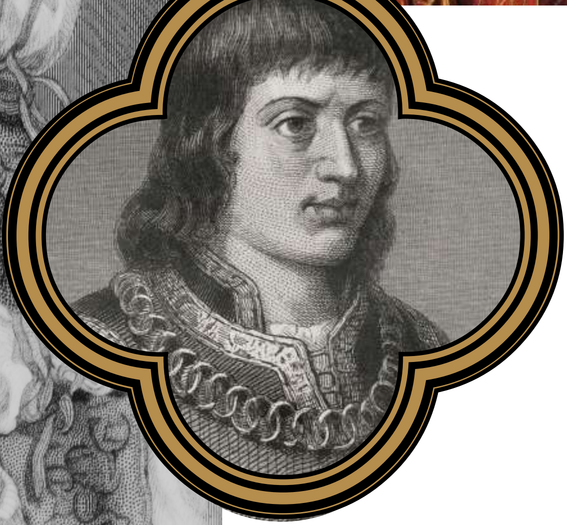


The Portuguese Inquisition in 16th-century Goa, India, holds an auto de fé, burning convicted heretics and non-believers in an elaborate quasi-religious rite



The young Isabella took charge of her own destiny while still in her teens, rejecting the marriages her half-brother arranged for her and eloping with Ferdinand of Aragon





ABOVE Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, who became Pope Alexander VI, was a powerful influence on the royal couple and was instrumental in their founding of the Spanish Inquisition

INSET The young Ferdinand was hailed as a prodigy: a brilliant knight, master tactician, politician and diplomat, he was also considered dazzlingly handsome

territorial expansion but mainly by the larger Christian kingdoms like Castile, Aragon and the ill-fated Córdoba pushing back at the borders of al-Andalus. Dubbed the Reconquista, this 'reconquest' of al-Andalusian territories had been going on since the first Muslim invasion of Iberia in the 8th century and was encouraged by the Church, who presented the later Crusades in a similar light. Not only did Christian territorial expansion provide more worshippers and more resources, but the idea of Holy War suited the region's unique approach to the Catholic faith and its ambitious church leaders.

The Iberian Peninsula had begun to Christianise after the fall of Rome, as Visigothic tribes swept through much of the lands of the former empire. The Visigoths had initially followed an outlawed branch of Christianity called Arianism. They made their Iberian capital at Toledo, and it was there, in 587 CE, that their king, Reccared I, renounced the heresy of Arianism and embraced mainstream Catholicism. But the Spanish faith still retained its unique flavour and fervour. While most of the Church concentrates on the image of the adult, crucified Christ the Redeemer, Spanish Catholicism's Arian roots made its oldest iconography lean towards the image of the Christ Child. Arians believed that Jesus was not a pre-existing, eternal aspect of God but only came into being at the Nativity, which for them was literally the birth of a new god.

This early focus on Jesus' physical birth in turn predisposed later Spanish Catholicism to Marianism, an emphasis on the veneration of Christ's mother, Mary. In medieval Spanish iconography, parallels are drawn between the Christ Child and the human soul; both are cared for and led by the motherly love of Mary. Instead of one's sins needing redemption by Christ, one can place their hand in Mary's to be guided by a strict but loving mother to do the right thing.

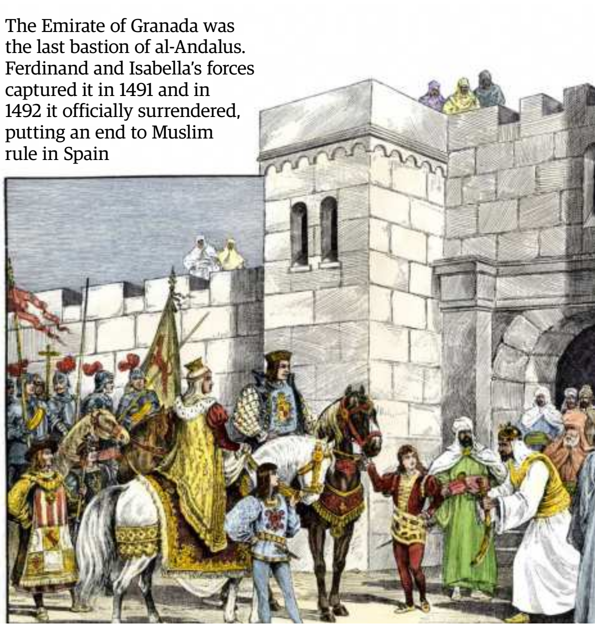
Meanwhile, Spanish Catholicism's culturally Germanic roots gave it a propensity for the soaring edifices and dark shadows of Gothic architecture, which is designed to create a feeling of terrified awe. Gothic cathedrals were intended to evoke a similar emotional state to being lost in the mighty forests of northern Europe, with people dwarfed by their inhuman scale and left trembling with fear and wonder. Nowhere in Spain is this more obvious than in Toledo Cathedral.

Dedicated to the Assumption of Mary (the idea that on her deathbed Mary was lifted bodily into Heaven and enthroned as its queen), its gloriously colourful and gilded interior is illuminated here and there by hidden windows that light upon glimmering statues of the Holy Mother, as if random sunbeams just happen to be directing the faithful through a darkness full of half-seen presences towards the peace and safety of Marian grace. This motherly, mystical, manipulative version of Catholicism, highly focused on innocence, righteousness and the expansion of the faith, was the Church

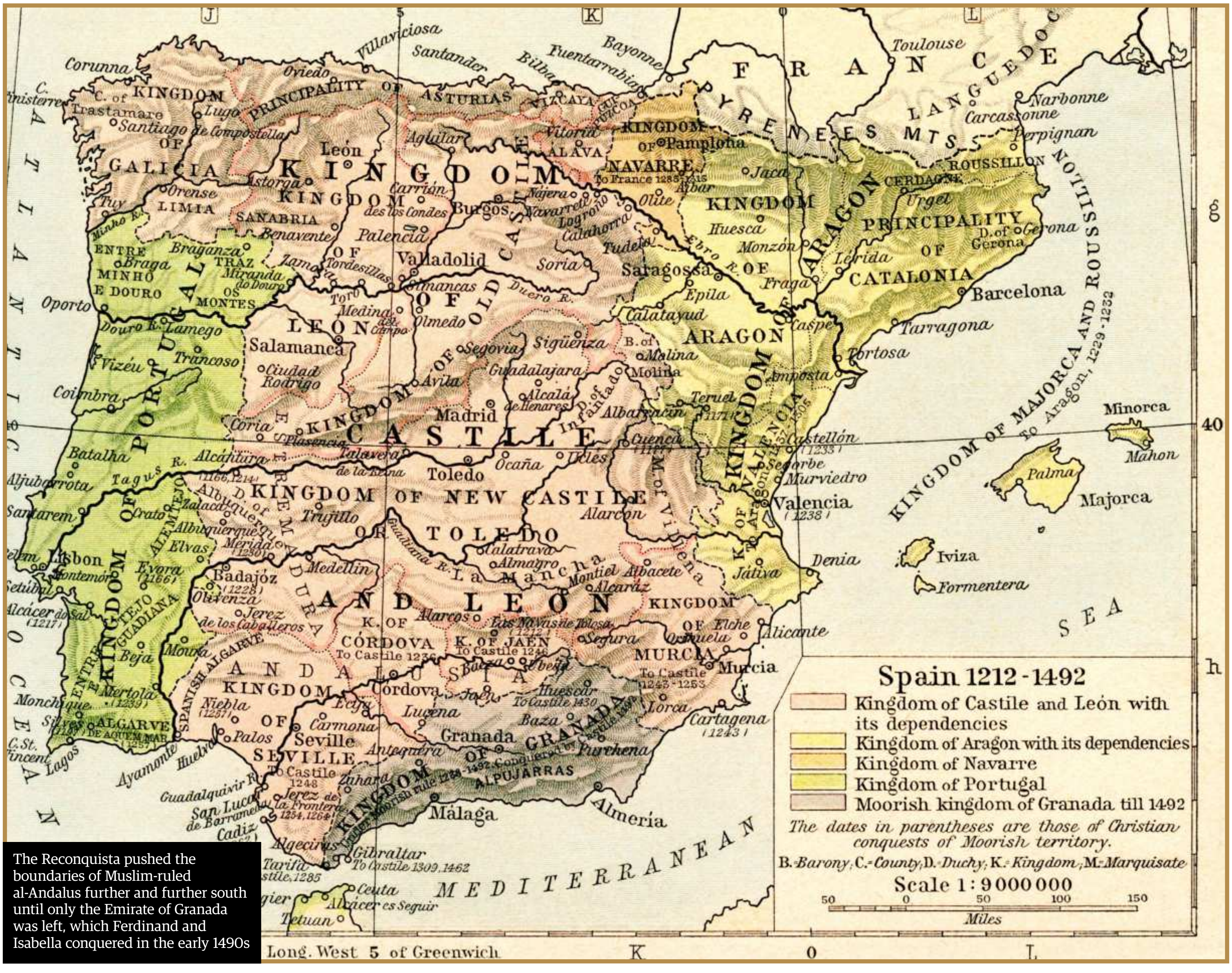
> *"It was Rodrigo Borgia that had procured the papal bull that had enabled Ferdinand and Isabella to marry"*

that Ferdinand and Isabella were raised in and devoted to. According to their religious thinking, Ferdinand and Isabella were not so much driven by the pursuit of expunging their sins before Christ but instead believed that the Blessed Virgin had set them on the right course in the first place. It's breathtaking to us today that they were firmly convinced that their missions of conquest and conversion at home and abroad were the moral thing to do, but the beliefs, precepts and priests of the Church that they had been raised in told them that this was the case. And nobody was more persuasive than Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, later Pope Alexander VI.

It was Rodrigo Borgia who had procured for the young Ferdinand and Isabella the papal bull (a document containing an order from the Pope) that had enabled them to marry. The ambitious churchman, a talented lawyer, came from a powerful and well-connected family. His uncle was Pope Callixtus III, although it was Rodrigo's later papacy that made the name of the Borgias a byword for licentiousness, nepotism and intrigue. He had several mistresses and illegitimate children, although he gave them his name, his financial and political support, and his blessing. He also gave his blessing to Isabella and Ferdinand, and the gamble he took by tying his star to theirs at their marriage paid off.



The Emirate of Granada was the last bastion of al-Andalus. Ferdinand and Isabella's forces captured it in 1491 and in 1492 it officially surrendered, putting an end to Muslim rule in Spain


Spain 1212-1492
Kingdom of Castile and León with its dependencies
Kingdom of Aragon with its dependencies
Kingdom of Navarre
Kingdom of Portugal
Moorish kingdom of Granada till 1492
The dates in parentheses are those of Christian conquests of Moorish territory.
B.-Barony, C.-County, D.-Duchy, K.-Kingdom, M.-Marquisate
Scale 1:9000000
Miles
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF LEON
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
KINGDOM OF NAVARRE
PRINCIPALITY OF CATALONIA
KINGDOM OF VALENCIA
KINGDOM OF MAJORCA
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
KINGDOM OF NEW CASTILE OR TOLEDO
KINGDOM OF SEVILLE
KINGDOM OF MURCIA
KINGDOM OF GALICIA
FRANCE
PYRENEES MTS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Madrid
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Granada
Barcelona
Valencia
Lisbon
Seville
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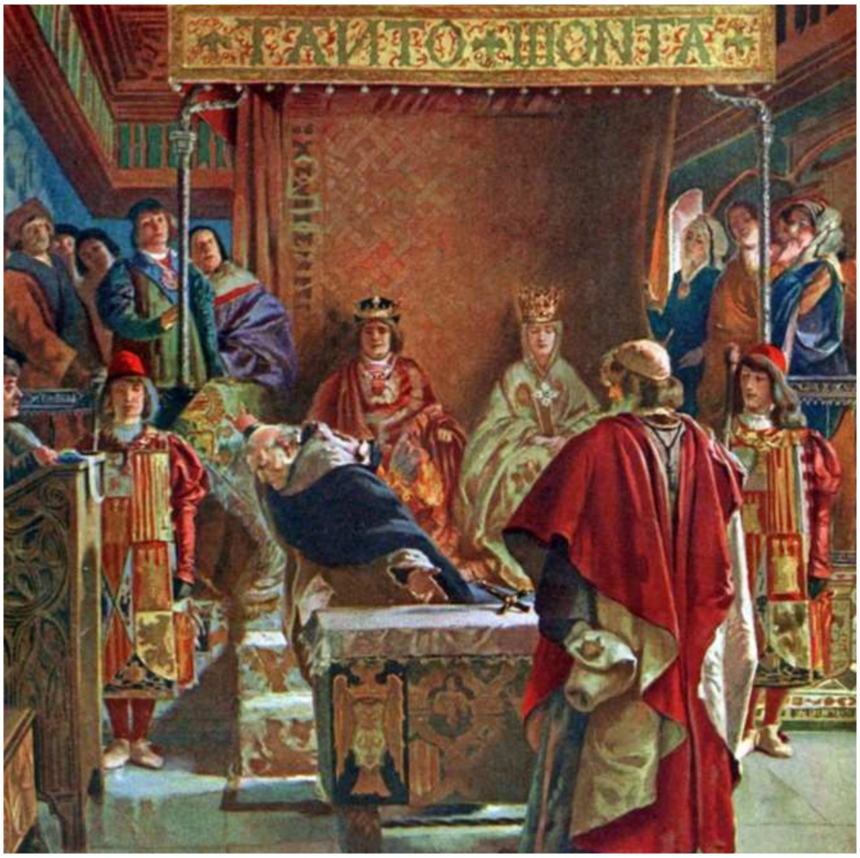
The Reconquista pushed the boundaries of Muslim-ruled al-Andalus further and further south until only the Emirate of Granada was left, which Ferdinand and Isabella conquered in the early 1490s

We think of the Borgias as Italian, and indeed with a number of papacies in the family line the dynasty soon moved east and became Italianised, but they were originally from Xàtiva, a town in Valencia, which in the 15th century came under the dominion of Aragon. Rodrigo was raised in the same branch of righteous, Reconquista-inflected Catholicism as Isabella and Ferdinand, and like them he believed in the divinely motivated justice of his actions. Pope Sixtus IV had left the decision to order the dispensation for the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella to Rodrigo's discretion; he chose to do so to further his aim of brokering peace between Aragon and Castile.

Rodrigo's vision for Iberian unity reached its apex in the 1470s. Isabella took her late brother's throne of Castile in 1474, although she was embattled in a war for succession with Henry's daughter Joanna, now married to King Afonso V of Portugal, until 1476, when the Portuguese forces were defeated at the Battle of Toro.

In 1479, John II of Aragon died, and Ferdinand inherited his father's throne. Having accorded each other the rights and privileges of co-ruler and regent, by 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella were no longer merely



ABOVE The statue of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child illuminated against the backdrop of the ornately Gothic Toledo Cathedral is an iconic image of medieval and Renaissance Spanish Catholicism

LEFT Ferdinand and Isabella issued the Alhambra Decree in 1492, ordering the expulsion of Jewish people from their kingdom

BOTTOM RIGHT A page from a breviary that belonged to the devoutly Catholic Isabella. It contains prayers and devotions to be made throughout the day

> *“In 1491 Isabella and Ferdinand achieved one of their key aims: their forces defeated the last bastion of Muslim Spain”*

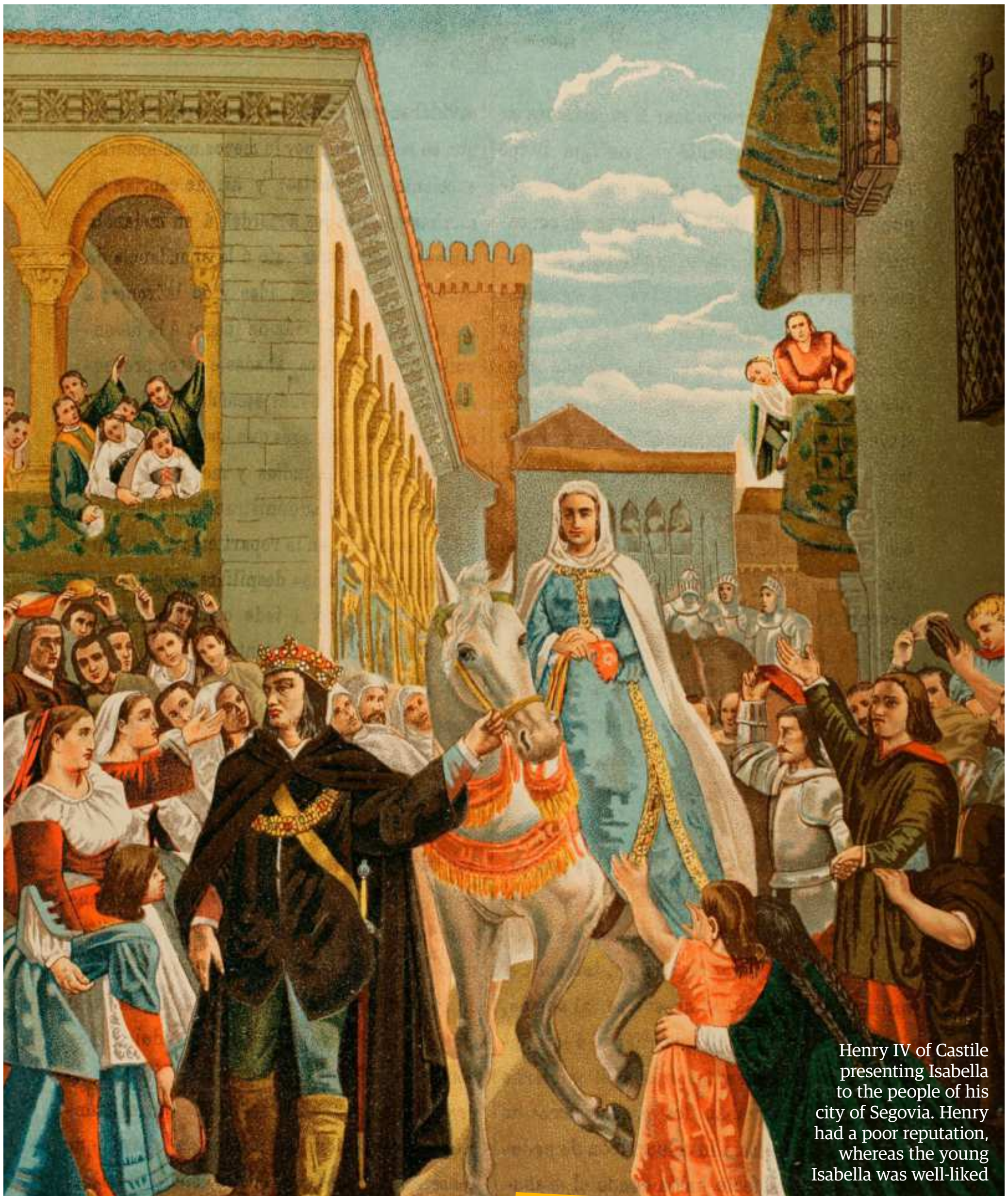
king and queen of Sicily but of a single conjoined realm on the mainland. The unification of Spain – named for the old imperial Roman Hispania – had begun.

It was now that the Holy War ideology of the Spanish Church became vitally important. There were still tensions between the noble families of Aragon and Castile, and the two kingdoms had between them gobbled up a host of little city-states (known as ‘taifa’) that had been created by ongoing sectarian violence in the Córdoba region. Factionalism was rife. By promoting the Reconquista as a Christian mission for glory, Isabella and Ferdinand could turn the attentions of their knightly class outwards to the common goal of a unified Christian Spain rather than inwards to continuing intra-house skirmishes among the aristocracy. This extended to the peasantry too: after the War of the Castilian Succession, Ferdinand and Isabella developed Castile’s Christian city watches into a unified organisation called the Santa Hermandad (Holy Brotherhood). As historian Henry Kamen put it, they “brought peace by the brilliant strategy of organising rather than eliminating violence”. The royal couple soon rolled out this Christian police force throughout their unified realm.

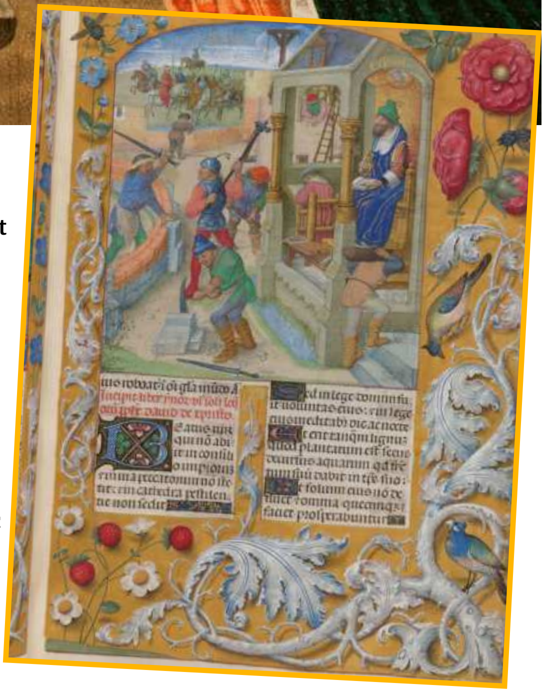
In 1491, Isabella and Ferdinand finally achieved one of their key aims: their forces defeated the last bastion of Muslim Spain, the Nasrid dynasty’s Emirate of Granada, in a last stand at Granada’s famous Alhambra Palace. The Reconquista against al-Andalus was over. But for the king and queen, another war was beginning, one not of territory but of ideas.

Anti-Semitism was on the rise throughout Europe. Previous Christianising efforts in Iberia had compelled Muslims and Jews to convert to Catholicism, and in many places, especially the Castilian and Aragonese courts, previously Jewish ‘conversos’ had risen to high civil service positions and accrued significant wealth and power. Ferdinand and Isabella feared that the presence of practising Jews would woo these New Christians back to their former faith or influence them to practise in secret. As early as 1478 they had petitioned Rome to allow them to set up an inquisition into the perceived threat of ‘Crypto-Judaism’ and had set up the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Spain, but it wasn’t until 1492 – the same year that they sponsored Christopher Columbus’ first voyage – that they issued the Alhambra Decree, which gave Jews in Spain four months to either convert to Christianity or leave the country.

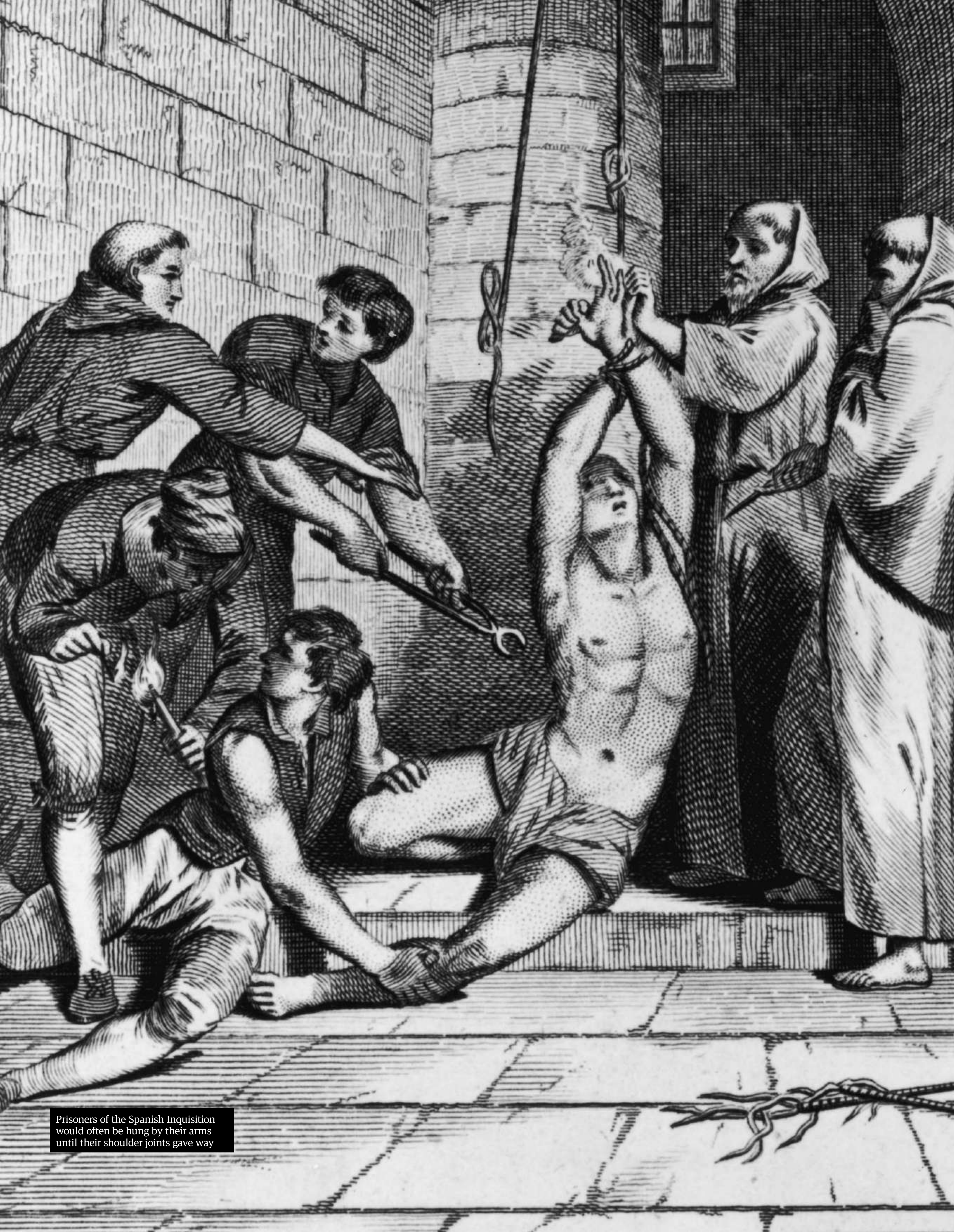
Mere weeks after this deadline, Rodrigo Borgia became Pope Alexander VI. A year later, he would issue the papal bulls that gave Spain control over the New World lands discovered by Christopher Columbus. The holy warriors of the Reconquista would shortly become the Conquistadors, and in 1494 the Pope would issue his favourite rulers with the title we know them by today: Los Reyes Católicos, the Catholic Monarchs. The price of this divine favour was a kingdom that was Catholic in thought, word and deed. The Inquisition became their way of making that a reality.



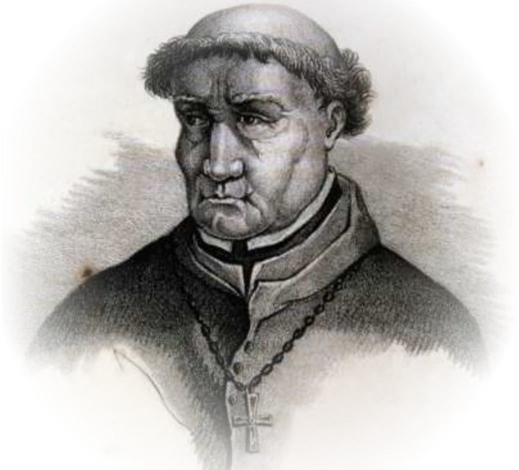
Henry IV of Castile presenting Isabella to the people of his city of Segovia. Henry had a poor reputation, whereas the young Isabella was well-liked



Images: Alamy



Prisoners of the Spanish Inquisition would often be hung by their arms until their shoulder joints gave way



TOMÁS THE TORTURER

Even by the standards of the Spanish Inquisition, Tomás de Torquemada was a fanatic. This is the story of how an ambitious Dominican monk rose to become the most feared of all the Grand Inquisitors

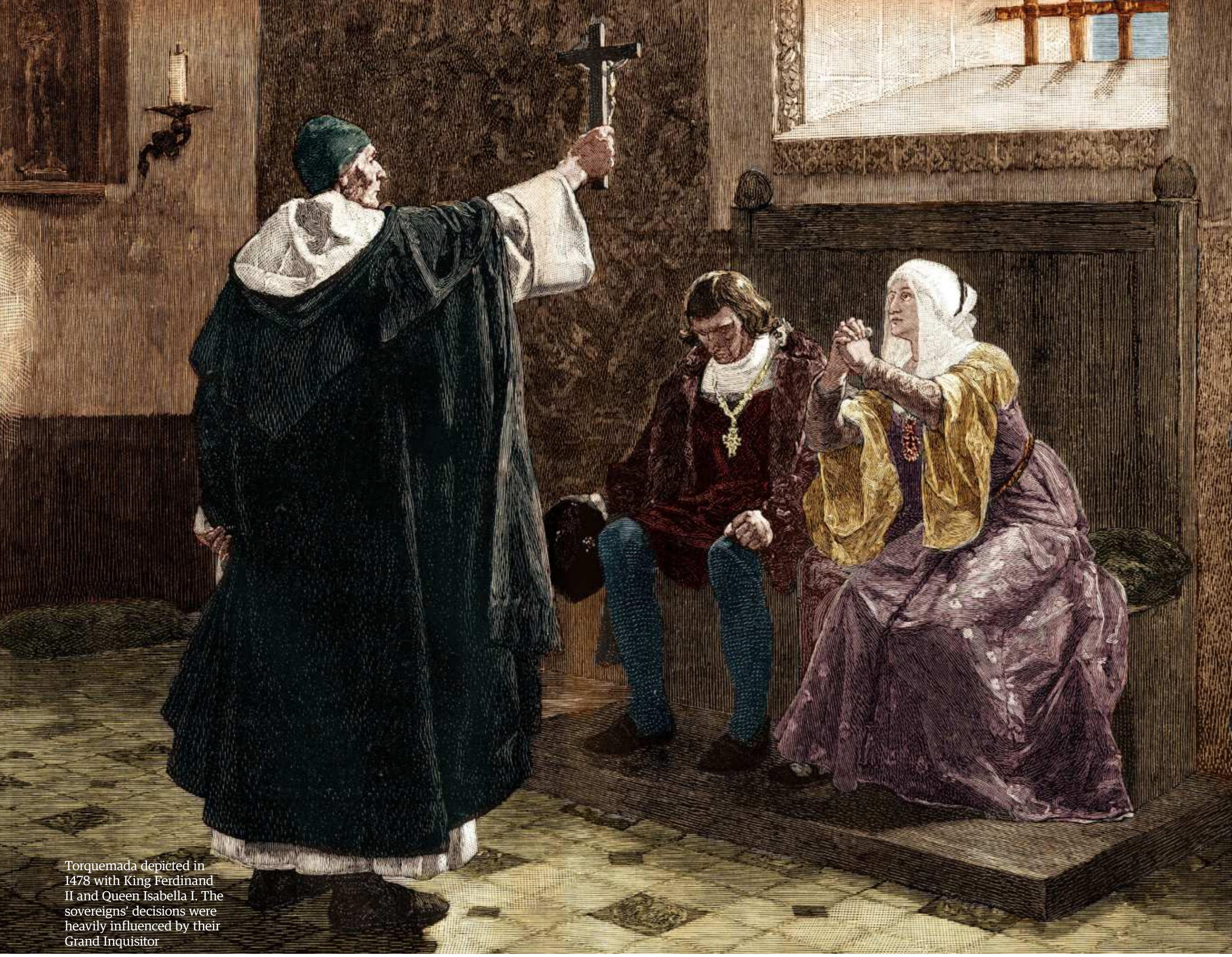
Written by Henry Yates

As chronicler of the early years of the Spanish Inquisition, Sebastián de Olmedo once described Tomás de Torquemada as "the light of Spain, the saviour of his country, the honour of his order". From our standpoint of more enlightened times, that glowing assessment is highly contestable, yet there is no refuting de Olmedo's further thoughts on Spain's first and most ferocious Grand Inquisitor. Torquemada, he writes, was "the hammer of heretics".

More than any other 15th-century figure, Torquemada personified the Inquisition's worst excesses of sadism and cruelty, a bleak ringmaster mercilessly conducting this darkest era of medieval history. As Rafael Sabatini writes in his book, *Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition*, "The history of Tomás de Torquemada is not so much the history of a man as of an abstract genius presiding over a gigantic and cruel engine of its own perfecting. Through the records that survive we may observe its cold, smooth action, and trace in this the awful intelligence of its architect."

Born on 14 October 1420 (most accounts believe his birthplace to have been the Spanish municipality of Valladolid in the Kingdom Of Castile) Torquemada soon displayed the steel and ambition that would one day propel him to the heights of powers. In his youth he entered into the San Pablo Dominican monastery and committed to his faith and studies of theology. This serious, pious young man did not go unnoticed: Torquemada was promoted to become Prior of the monastery of Santa Cruz at Segovia, a position he would hold for 22 years. But he would gain still more influence as the confessor and confidant of Princess Isabella, advising the future Queen of Castile from her childhood and even helping to engineer her unifying marriage of 1469 to King Ferdinand of Aragon.

From this position of trust and influence, in which he could whisper into the royal court's most important ears, Torquemada was perfectly placed to benefit from – and even dictate – the kingdom's shifting socio-political tides. While Dominican inquisitors had patrolled the kingdom in search of heretics for the last few centuries, in 1477 the sovereigns successfully petitioned Pope Sixtus IV for the creation of Spain's Holy Office for the Propagation of the Faith. The resulting papal bull issued on 1 November 1478 – Exigit sinceras devotionis affectus (translation: Sincere devotion is required) – was effectively the sanctioning of the kingdom's own dedicated Inquisition.



Torquemada depicted in 1478 with King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I. The sovereigns' decisions were heavily influenced by their Grand Inquisitor

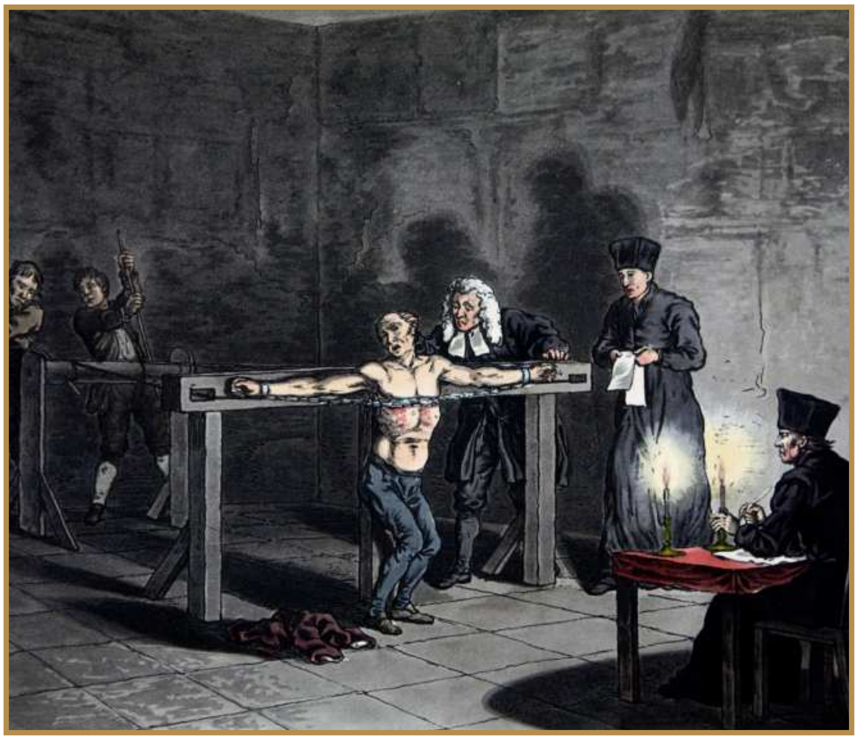
But who to lead it? Given Torquemada's favoured status with the sovereigns, his unbending commitment to Church orthodoxy and his white-hot animosity towards all those who strayed or falsely professed their faith, the Dominican was the obvious choice. By 1483, Torquemada was duly installed as Grand Inquisitor of Spain and he swiftly set to work casting the Inquisition in his own image. A year later, at a general assembly in Seville, Torquemada unveiled the 28 crimes to guide the investigations of his underlings (these included heresy, apostasy and blasphemy, plus offences spanning from sorcery to sodomy) alongside the prescribed tortures that could be used to extract a confession.

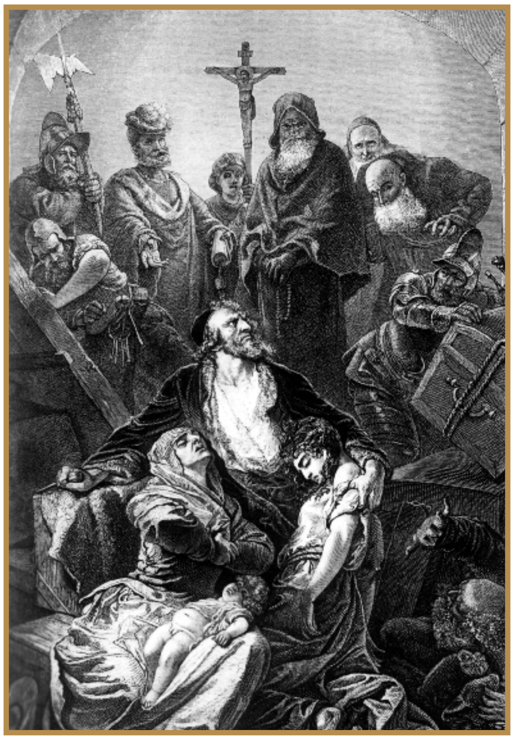
Even before the Spanish Inquisition began, Torquemada had been eyeing his quarry. During this period, in the face of growing persecution, vast swathes of the country's Jewish and Muslim populations had renounced their faith and converted to Catholicism in the hope of finding peace. Yet these so-called 'conversos' – the Jews now insultingly referred to as 'marranos', the Muslims as 'moriscos' – remained deeply troubling to Ferdinand and Isabella, who believed that many continued to practise their original faith in secret and corrupt society by stealth.

"The attitude was poisoned further by the fact that many conversos were very prominent," the historian Cullen Murphy explained in an interview with NPR. "They had positions in government. They had positions in finance. They had positions in the military and even in the Church. So the idea that behind-the-scenes Judaising conversos were doing their deeds and undermining the state had a powerful resonance."

It was a paranoia amplified by Torquemada himself, despite his own chequered ancestry (his uncle, Juan de Torquemada, was a converso). "A Jew, born into a family of converts," writes Dan Graves on **Christianity.com**, "he turned most of his fury against his own people."

On 31 March 1492 – no doubt with a push from Torquemada – the sovereigns issued the Alhambra Decree, which ordered the expulsion of all practising Jews from Spain. Some 40,000 people of Jewish faith were forced out with little more than the clothes on their backs, but as many as 50,000 marranos remained, regarded with fierce suspicion by the religious establishment





FAR LEFT One Inquisition torture method saw a chain pulled ever-tighter across a prisoner's chest until it began to break bones

LEFT A depiction of Jews pleading for their lives with Torquemada - to no avail. Some estimates state that as many as 2,000 people died during his reign

BOTTOM LEFT Queen Isabella I of Castile was advised from childhood by Torquemada, and her confessor would become a powerful influence in her kingdom

> *"Many unfortunate souls would be hung from their arms until their shoulder joints ruptured"*

and providing Torquemada with the principal target for his terrifying campaign. (Incredibly, the Alhambra Decree would not be officially revoked until December 1968.)

Torquemada's strategy for treating the infection of heresy in Spain ran a terrible gamut. At the low end of the scale was public humiliation: heretics might be ordered to wear garments marked with devils, flames, dragons and serpents to mark them out from the devout populace.

As Cullen Murphy explains, heretics could be forced to fill the least desirable positions in the medieval workforce. "One of the things that the monarchy needed was galley slaves. It's probably the worst punishment that can ever be meted out. Your life expectancy was not more than a couple of years. The conditions were appalling. Disease would carry off entire ships on a regular basis."

Torquemada's favoured torture methods, meanwhile, stood among the Inquisition's most callous. Many unfortunate souls would be hung from their arms until their shoulder joints ruptured. Others would be starved or, at the other extreme, have gallons of water forced down their throats.

Countless souls were bound to the rack, the elaborate device stretching their bodies by agonising increments until their limbs were pulled from their sockets. The prosaic application of chains to a heretic's chest, or burning coals to their bodies, could be just as effective.

Even then, as records of the interrogations reveal, confession would often fall on deaf ears. "I have said that I did all that the witnesses say," one woman is quoted as pleading in a harrowing transcript. "Señores, release me, for I do not remember it. For God's sake, have mercy on me!"

For those who held out against torture, the auto de fé awaited: a ritual execution that saw heretics lashed to a stake and lowered shrieking onto a bonfire, often watched by a baying mob and sometimes visiting dignitaries. It is said that the auto de fé was a more popular spectacle in Spain at this time than the bullfight.

If his appetite for sadism has become his chief legacy, Torquemada should also be noted for the administrative skills that massively expanded the reach of the Spanish Inquisition. Having started with a single tribunal in Seville, the Grand Inquisitor would establish more than 20 Holy Offices across the kingdom, while the number of secret police and informants in his pocket is impossible to guess. Likewise, while estimates vary, it is feasible that as many as 2,000 people were killed during Torquemada's 15-year reign of ruthless subjugation.

Yet a man this divisive could not cling to power indefinitely. Fiercely single-minded, flanked by bodyguards and refusing to bow even to the highest authority (he even continued his brutal practices in the face of a papal bull issued by Pope Sixtus IV pardoning the conversos), Torquemada turned from a valuable Catholic attack dog to an unpredictable liability.

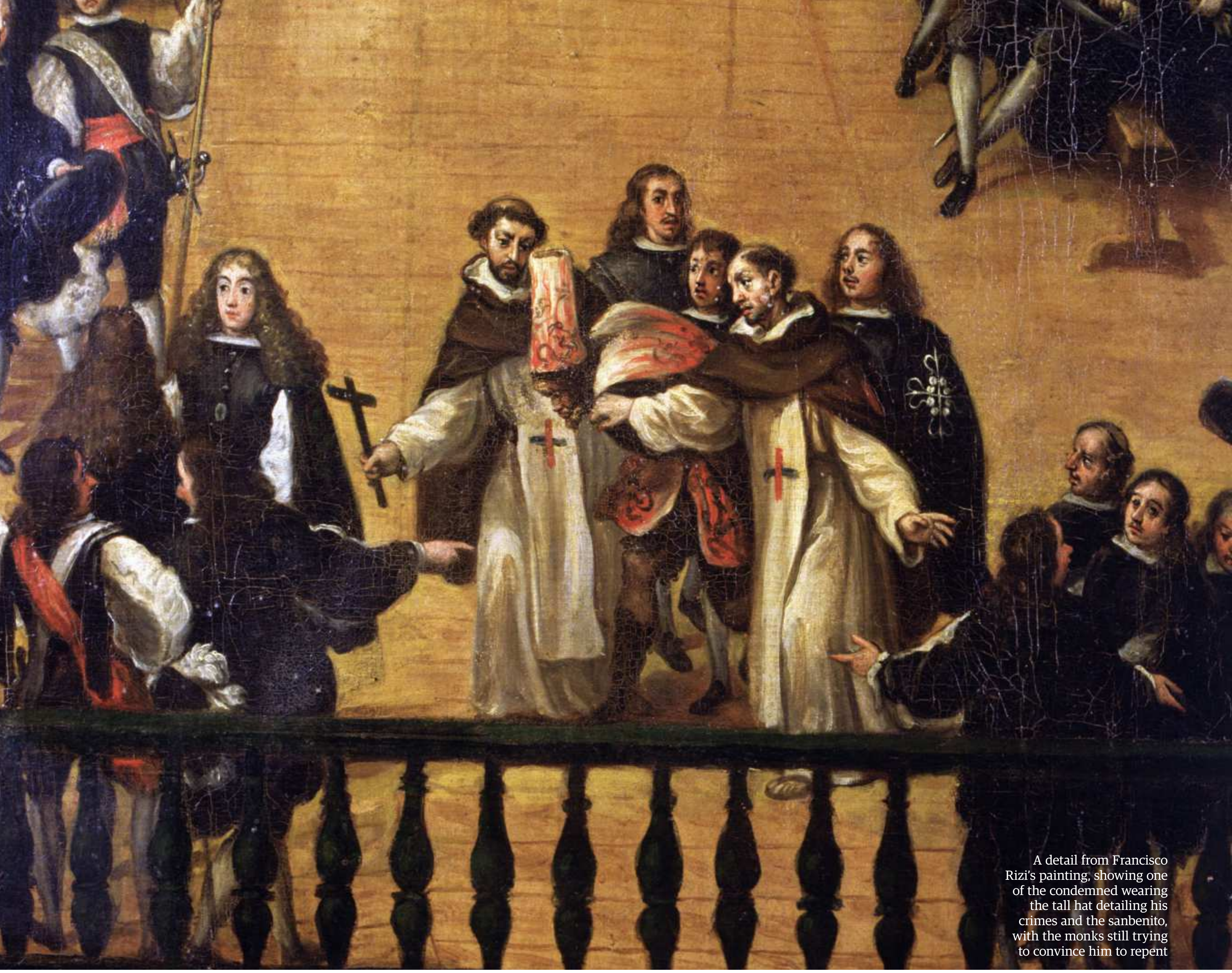
While he retained the title of Grand Inquisitor until his death, Torquemada's influence waned as the 15th century neared its end. In 1494, Pope Alexander VI dispatched four junior inquisitors to assist him in Spain, ostensibly due to Torquemada's fading health, but more likely to edge him out after too many reports of appalling violence reached papal ears.

That same year, Torquemada withdrew to the monastery of St. Thomas Aquinas in Ávil, his days spent in the peaceful pursuits of an everyday monk but his mind still raging with the cause. In 1498, Torquemada's final general assembly set out the roadmap for the Inquisition to continue its work into the next century before he died that September at the ripe old age of 78, leaving behind his bleak ideological thumbprint. "If Spain hoped with his death for a cessation of brutality, they hoped in vain," writes Dan Graves on **Christianity.com**. "His apparatus lived on after him, crushing new victims long after he was gone."

It was a peaceful end for a man who had sent an untold number of souls screaming into the afterlife, yet Torquemada's story had a more fitting postscript. More than 300 years later - as the Spanish Inquisition entered its death throes in 1832 - the Grand Inquisitor's tomb at St Thomas Aquinas monastery was robbed.

The whereabouts of Torquemada's stolen bones have never been confirmed, but the consensus is that they were most likely incinerated in the fashion of the countless auto de fé executions he had himself sanctioned. A tribute to the forefather of the Spanish Inquisition, or a long-awaited act of revenge from the descendant of a victim? We will probably never know.

Images: Alamy, Getty Images



A detail from Francisco Rizi's painting, showing one of the condemned wearing the tall hat detailing his crimes and the sanbenito, with the monks still trying to convince him to repent

AN AUTO DE FÉ

The reality behind the lurid legend of the auto de fé

Written by Edoardo Albert

First, let us settle the terminology. Is it auto-da-fé or auto de fé? Both phrases mean 'act of faith' but auto-da-fé is Portuguese and auto de fé is Spanish. Auto-da-fé is used more in English, even when people are talking about the Spanish Inquisition, despite the Portuguese Inquisition being less notorious and less deadly. As we are looking at the Spanish Inquisition we will use auto de fé.

The auto de fé was the culmination of an Inquisition. Its name still evokes terror and the image of people burned alive before an assemblage of religious and civic dignitaries. While not the entire truth, the popular image is not a lie. People did die, consigned to the flames, at the end of an auto de fé.

An Inquisition was declared when intelligence reached the local inquisitor of possible heresy. Having arrived in the city or town where heresy was suspected, the inquisitor showed his credentials to the local authorities, religious and secular, and then declared a feast day when all the local people, with their children and servants,

> *"An Inquisition was declared when intelligence reached the local inquisitor of possible heresy"*

had to attend Mass. Having preached a sermon, the inquisitor then held up a crucifix before the congregation and required everyone present to raise their right hand, make the sign of the cross and then swear to support the Inquisition.

The people having sworn their support, the inquisitor read out the edict of grace. The Inquisition was concerned with extirpating heresy and saving souls, not burning people. By its own lights, the burning was simply the consequence of heretics persisting in heresy despite being given every chance to repent.

Thus, at the start of an Inquisition, people were given a period of grace, usually 30 or 40 days, to confess their sins to the Inquisition and be reconciled to the Church. If people confessed within the permitted time, they generally suffered little in the way of punishments.

The main way that the Inquisition acquired information was from informers. However, the accused was not told the name of his or her accuser(s). Neither were the precise details of the accusation given to the defendant on the grounds that it might help them identify their accuser – and have them assassinated. Anonymous accusations thus became an easy way of settling personal grudges.

Faced with this, many people, particularly if they came from Jewish or Muslim backgrounds, decided it was safer to accuse themselves of a relatively minor crime than risk being subject to anonymous accusations. It was this fear of anonymous denunciations that fuelled the atmosphere of paranoia that surrounded the Inquisition. What was worse, an accuser could claim part of the accused's property should he or she be found guilty and condemned. It was an informers' charter.

Sometimes, out of fear, people would accuse friends and relatives to pre-empt any accusations that might have been levelled against them. In Granada, María Alvarez 'revealed all that has been discovered about her mother and sisters and relatives'. Once arrested, the accused's goods were sequestrated until the case was concluded, sometimes reducing dependants to poverty.

Torture was an accepted method of interrogation, although in this the Inquisition was merely following general practice in Europe and, indeed, its use of torture was, relatively speaking, more humane than that of the secular authorities.

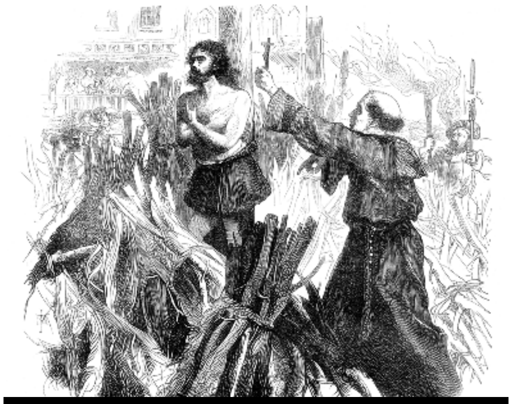
Once the Inquisition had rendered judgement on a sufficient number of people, it might declare an auto de fé. This was the public expression of the results of an inquisitorial visitation: the solemn sentencing of those whom the Inquisition had found guilty.

The auto de fé began as a public act of penance, when the guilty confessed their sins and were either reconciled to the Church or, if unrepentant or repeat sinners, were condemned. But by the mid-16th century it had become a public spectacle designed to 'achieve the public good and put fear into others'.

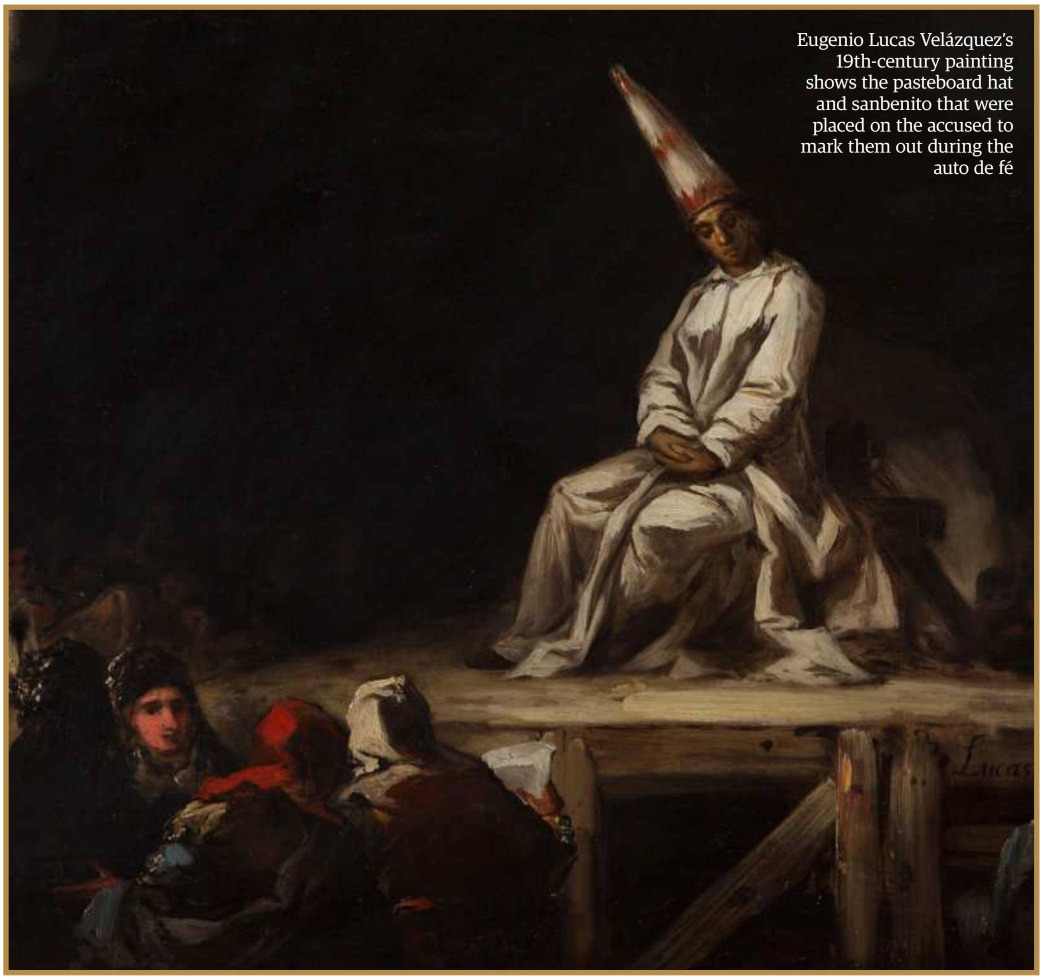
The auto de fé was declared on a feast day so that everyone could attend. It began with a grand procession of local dignitaries and – macabrely – the merchants who provided the fuel for the pyres to the square where the auto de fé was to take place. The inquisitorial standard was placed on the scaffold and then everyone withdrew for a night of prayer and preparation.

The following day began with the procession of the prisoners to the square. Those who had escaped punishment by absconding or dying in prison were carried to punishment in the form of pasteboard effigies. Then came the procession of the condemned, men and women wearing tall hats with their crimes written on them, and sanbenitos, the linen surplices that denoted someone found guilty by the Inquisition. The prisoners were paraded before the dignitaries and then made to stand while the inquisitor made his entrance, taking his place on a rostrum or balcony overlooking the proceedings.

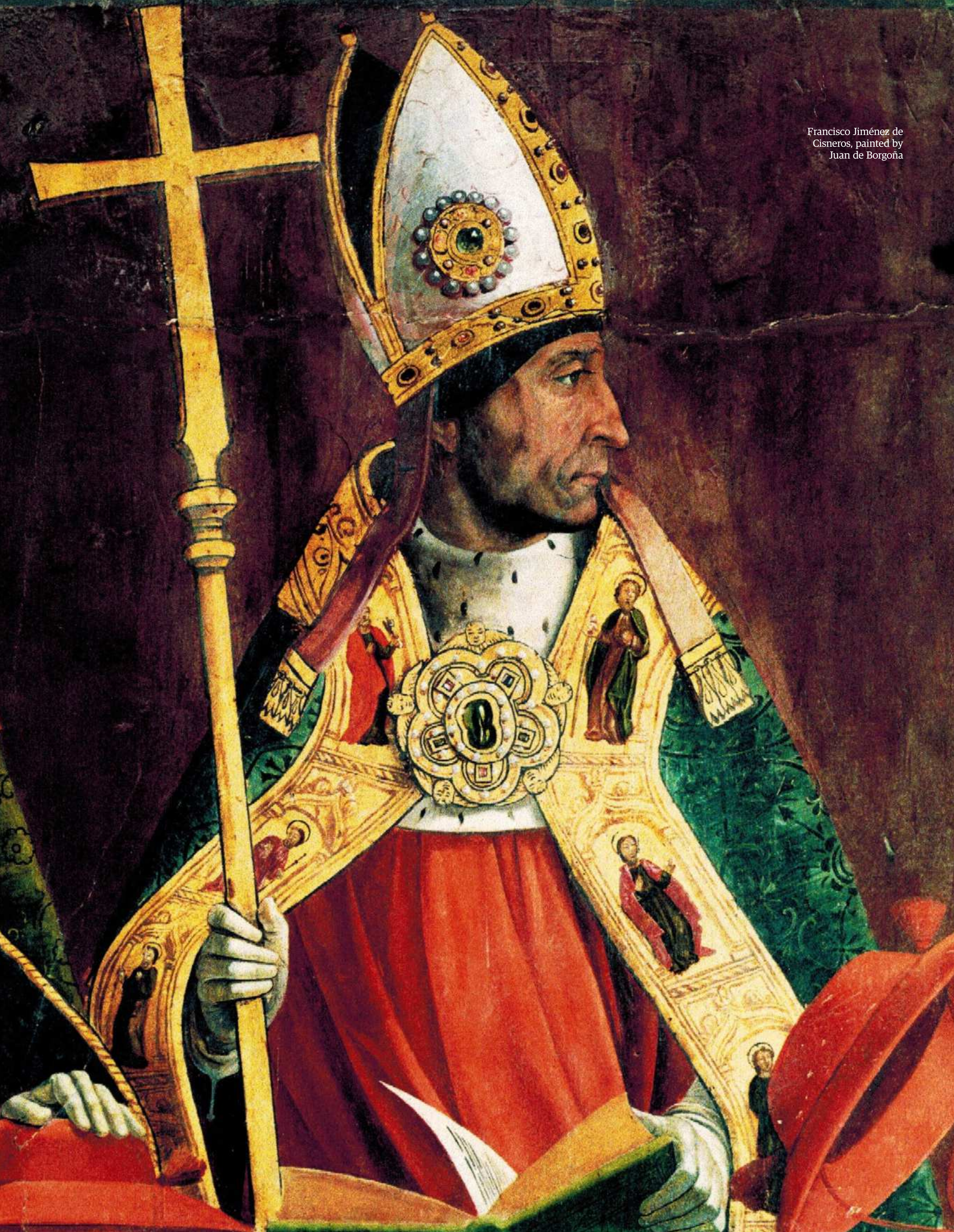
With everyone present, they then celebrated Mass. After the Mass, the sentences were read out. Those who were condemned but not executed were put on display so that all present could see them. Those who were to be executed were then taken from the square to the place of execution where the pyres were waiting for them. Those who abjured their beliefs were granted the mercy of being strangled before being consigned to the flames; those who remained stubbornly unrepentant were burnt alive, a truly agonising end. If it sounds terrible, it was. It was designed to be (although the burning was not a key part of the public spectacle).


Executions were not part of the main ceremony of the auto de fé but rather normally occurred somewhere nearby, where the pyres had been prepared

Previous estimates of the number of people burned by the Spanish Inquisition, numbers ranging in the tens or hundreds of thousands, have been shown by careful analysis of the records to have been wild exaggerations. It now seems clear that somewhere between three and ten thousand people were executed by the Inquisition through its centuries of operation. This is much fewer than what legend suggests, but it is still little comfort to those who were condemned and consigned to the flames.


Eugenio Lucas Velázquez's 19th-century painting shows the pasteboard hat and sanbenito that were placed on the accused to mark them out during the auto de fé

Images: Alamy


Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, painted by Juan de Borgoña

FRANCISCO DE CISNEROS

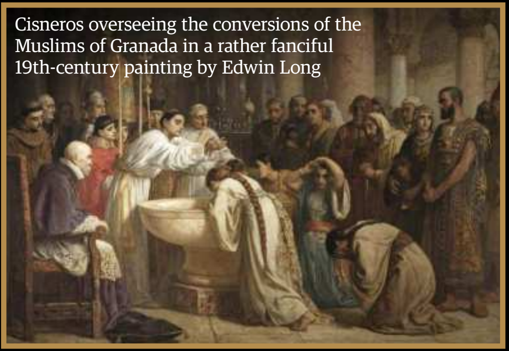
How a good man can leave the world worse than the way he found it

Written by Edoardo Albert

Few men better illustrate the paradoxes at the heart of the Inquisition than Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Confessor to the queen, Grand Inquisitor, statesman, university founder and benefactor to the poor, Cisneros was incorruptible, fearless and entirely disinterested in acquiring personal wealth. But his religious zeal, which saw him push through reforms of Spain's all-too-venal clergy despite vigorous opposition, also led him to force conversion upon thousands of Muslims in the newly reconquered lands of Spain's south, creating a problem that would endure for a century after his death.

Cisneros was born Gonzalo Jiménez de Cisneros in 1436 to an impoverished hidalgo (lower nobility). Having entered holy orders, Cisneros went to Rome to study, where he became impressed by the new humanist learning and gained the attention of Pope Paul II, who sent him back to Spain with a letter stating that the next bishopric in Toledo that fell vacant should be given to him. However, the archbishop ignored the pope's letter and, when Cisneros insisted, the archbishop had Cisneros thrown into prison. Cisneros spent six years languishing behind bars. At any time he could have been released if he had given up his claim to a bishopric but, in an early display of the stubborn sense of right and wrong that would distinguish Cisneros throughout his career, he refused to recant.

In the end, the archbishop gave up and Cisneros was made Vicar General of Sigüenza. A brilliant clerical career lay in front of him. Then, in 1484, Cisneros gave it all up and entered a Franciscan friary, adopting the name Fray Francisco. As a friar, he gave up all his personal wealth and voluntarily adopted a notably ascetic life, sleeping on the ground, fasting, and living for periods as a hermit.


Cisneros overseeing the conversions of the Muslims of Granada in a rather fanciful 19th-century painting by Edwin Long

Everything changed in 1492 when Cisneros was recommended to Queen Isabella I as her personal confessor. Taking this role, Cisneros found himself counselling the queen not just on her personal spiritual life but the larger religious questions of the realm. So impressed was Isabella that in 1495 she tried to appoint him Archbishop of Toledo, the richest and most powerful episcopal post in Spain. Cisneros ran away and resisted the appointment for six months, until finally a letter from the pope ordered him to accept the post.

As Archbishop of Toledo, Cisneros set about reforming the Church in Spain. He started with his own order, the Franciscans. As he knew all too well, the Franciscans in Spain had drifted a long, long way from St Francis' vision of an order wedded to poverty and chastity. Cisneros required them to be faithful to their oaths of celibacy, to actually live in the parishes they were supposed to serve, to go to confession and to preach on Sunday. Although many Franciscans resisted, some fleeing to North Africa with their concubines and becoming Muslim, Cisneros expanded his reforms to the other mendicant orders. With Isabella's support, he was able to force change on the recalcitrant orders.

However, the stern will that enabled Cisneros to reform the Church in Spain also rendered him completely inflexible with respect to the Muslims living there. In 711 the first wave of Islamic conquests swept through Spain, and by 718 the Visigothic Kingdom had been overthrown, with almost all of the Iberian Peninsula held by the invaders. It took Charles Martel's victory at the Battle of Poitiers in 732 to stop Muslim armies continuing their march into Europe. Thus began the long and slow war of reconquest (the Reconquista) that witnessed the slow advance of Christian realms southward until finally only the Emirate of Granada remained. The Emirate fell to the King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I in 1492 (39 years after Constantinople, the last bastion of the Byzantine Empire, had fallen to the Ottoman Turks at the other end of the Mediterranean).

"With Isabella's support, he was able to force change on the recalcitrant orders"

The new Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, proceeded with the conversion of the new Muslim subjects of Ferdinand and Isabella by peaceful persuasion, learning Arabic himself and encouraging his clergy to do so as well. But when this approach produced few converts, Queen Isabella's new confessor, Francisco de Cisneros, who had taken over the post from Talavera, demanded a more aggressive approach.

The forced mass conversions that resulted produced a population of alienated people, the moriscos, who were nominally Catholic but who were not accepted as such by other Spaniards and many of whom wished to return to their old cultural and religious practices. The problem proved insoluble and, in the end, the moriscos were expelled from Spain in 1609. Cisneros bears much of the responsibility for the suffering and impoverishment this caused.

Cisneros was appointed Grand Inquisitor in 1507, a post he held for ten years. He also sponsored one of the great scholarly enterprises of the age, the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, in which the Greek, Latin and Hebrew versions of the Old Testament were printed in parallel columns with the Aramaic at the bottom, and parallel versions of the Greek and Latin texts of the New Testament.

Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros died on 8 November 1517 having ensured the peaceful accession to the throne of Charles V. He died a faithful servant of Spain, a man of incorruptible personal morality who sought to help the poor and foster learning. Yet he was stained by the fruits of his zeal, which were measured in lives lost and wasted – a tragic legacy of a good man who imposed his goodness on others.

REFORMATION AND RETRIBUTION

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The gravest threat to the power of the Church would not originate on the battlefield but in the minds of pioneering thinkers who dared to challenge the status quo

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Inspired by the ideals of the Reformation to seek the rights and freedoms denied to them, thousands of peasants revolted against the established powers that ruled them. They would pay for their courage in blood

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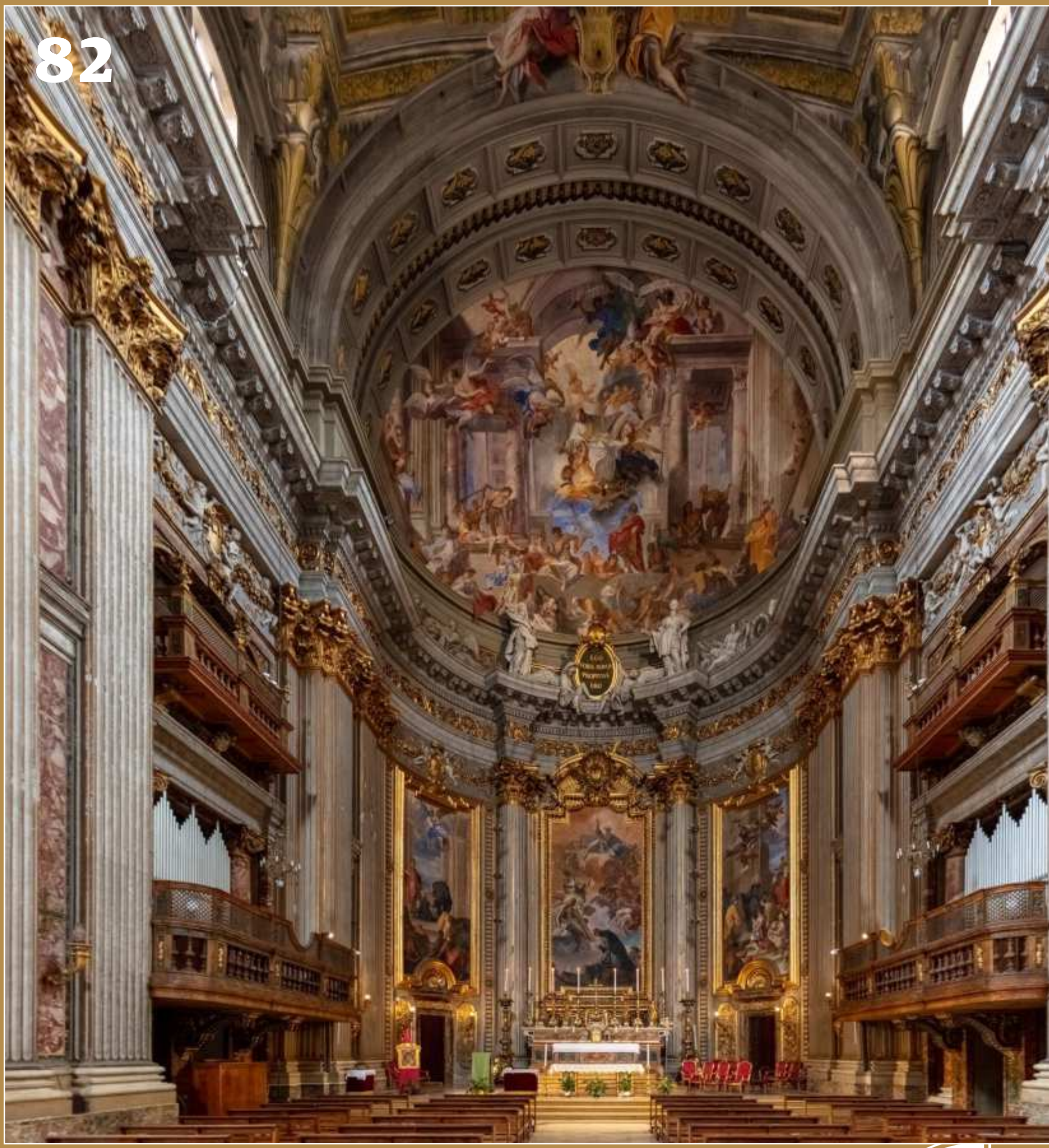
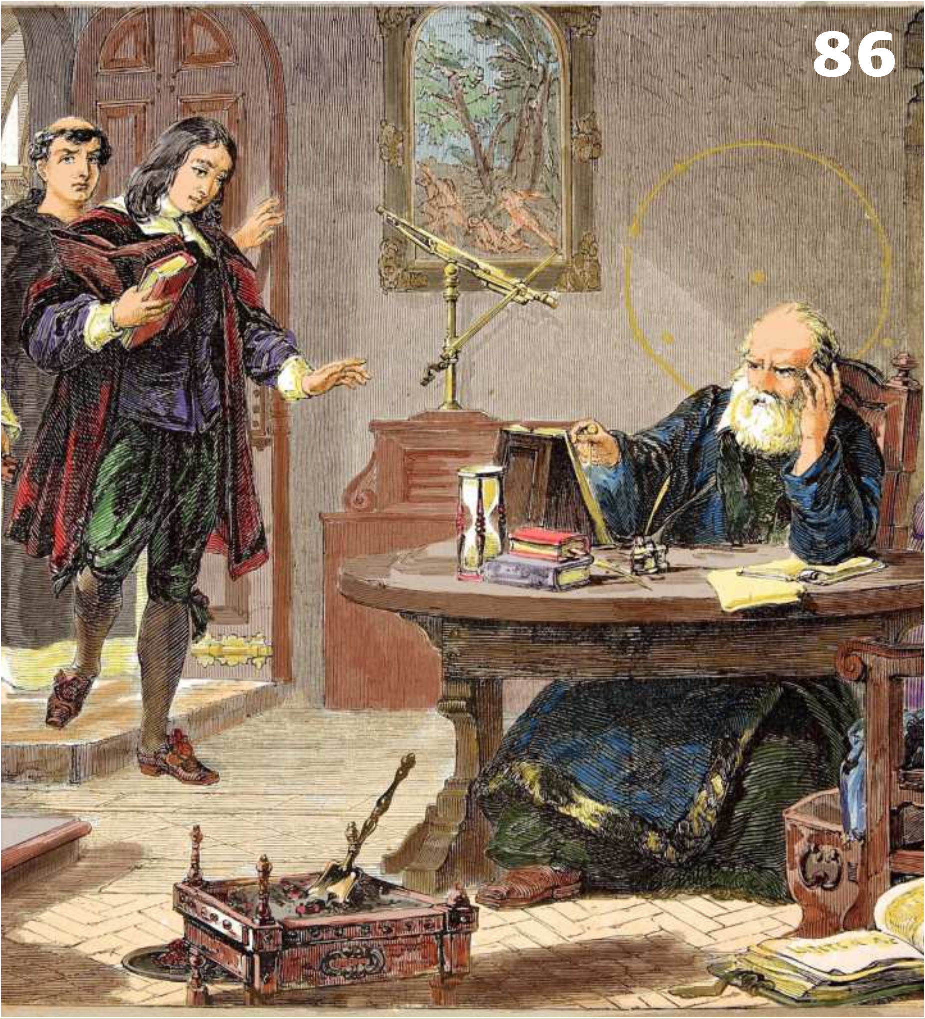
> *"Suspecting a lord of relapsing, a particularly fervent bishop had his target tried and burned at the stake"*





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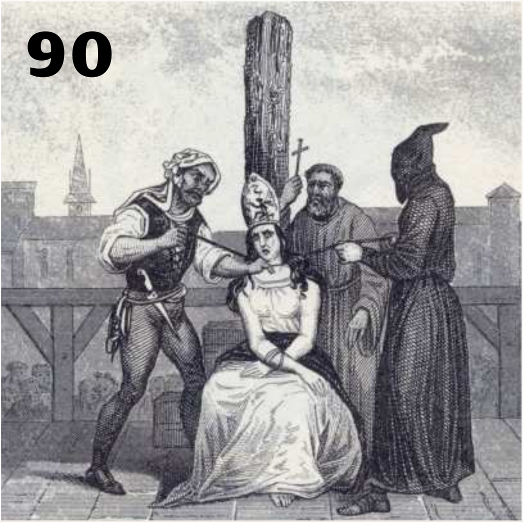

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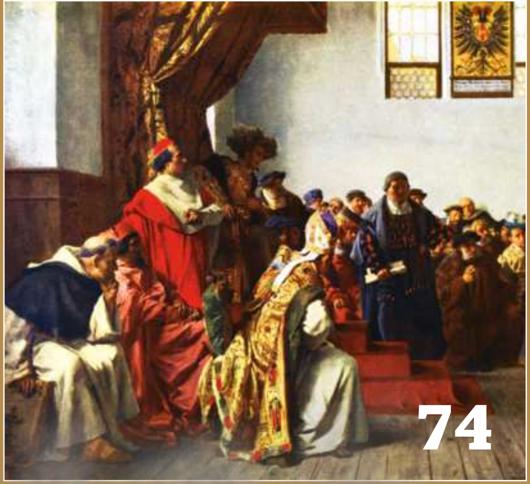

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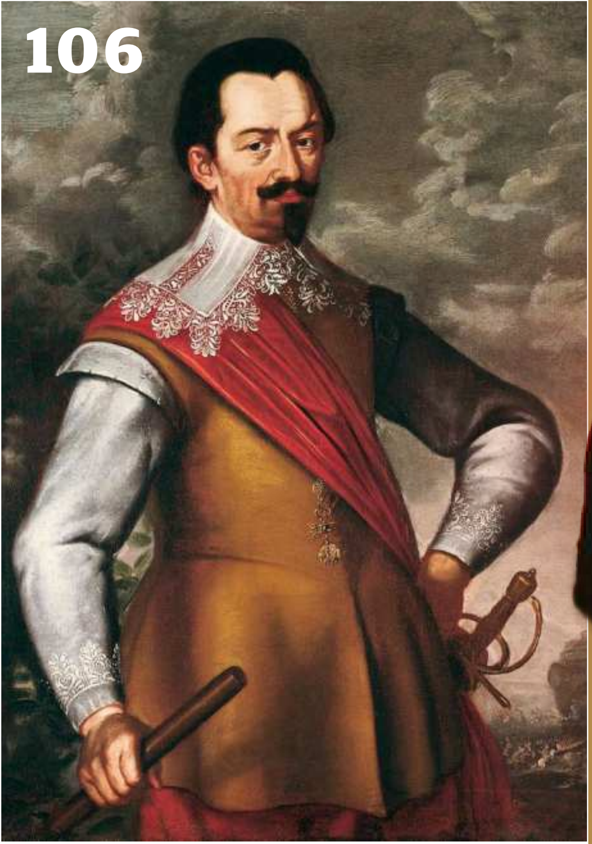

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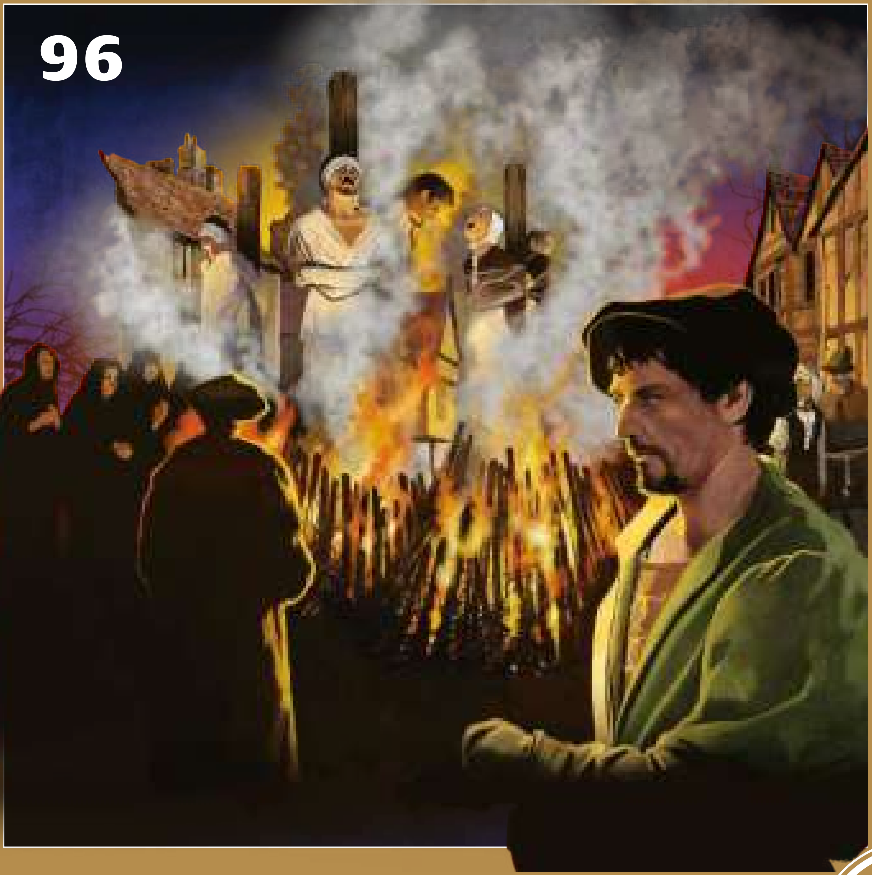

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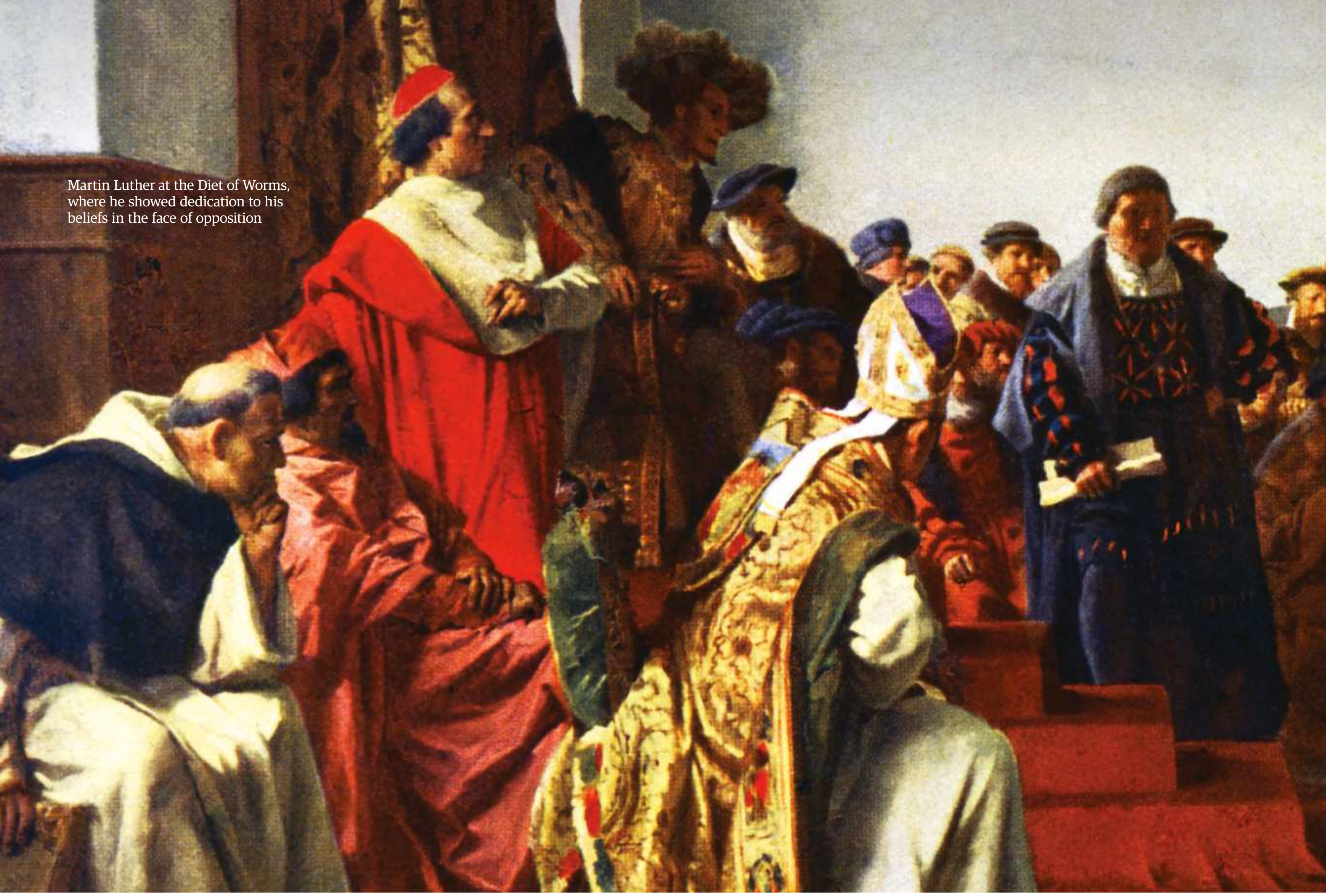


Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms, where he showed dedication to his beliefs in the face of opposition

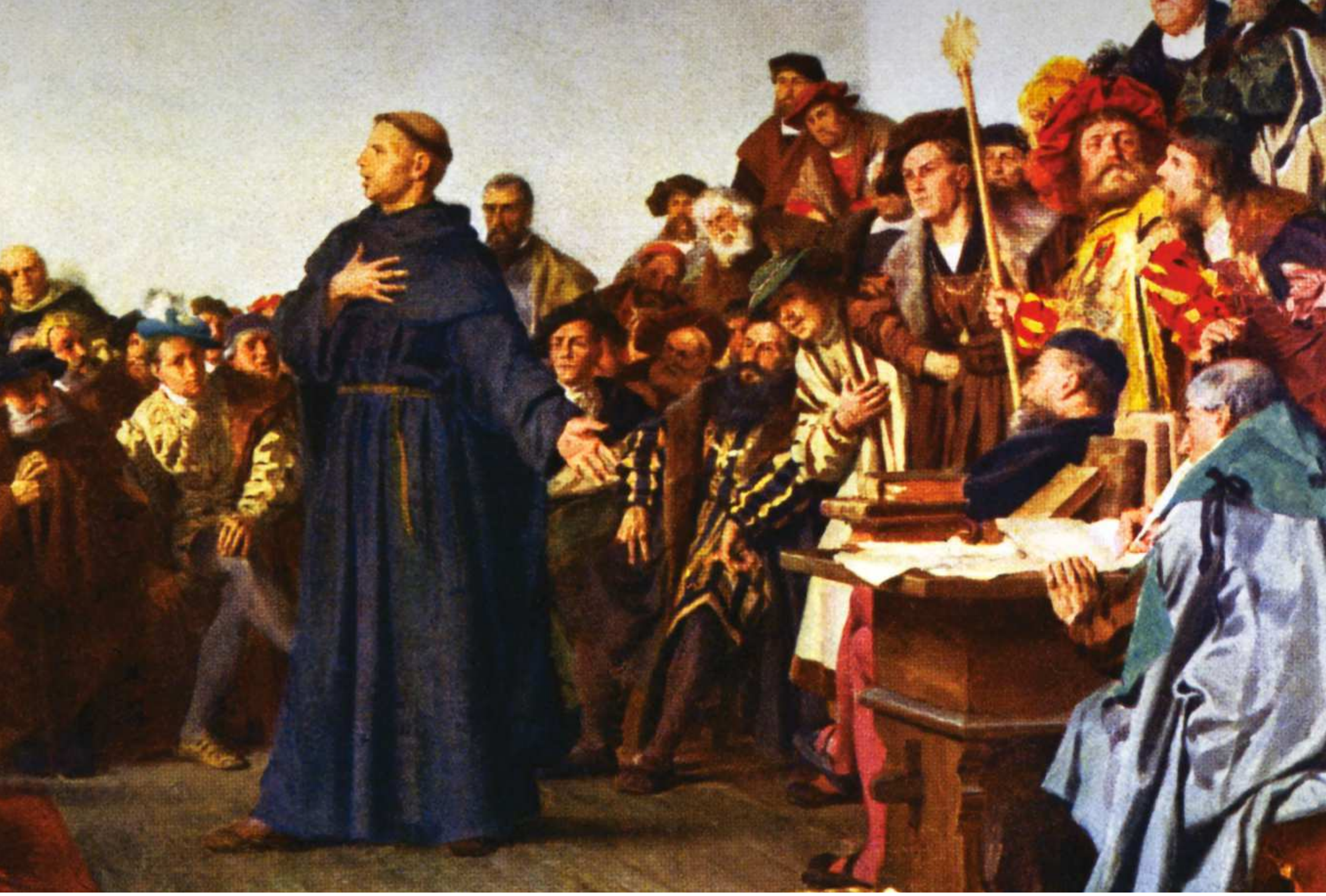
THE BIRTH OF THE REFORMATION

The greatest climacteric in Christian history began 500 years ago with Martin Luther's initial protest. It would challenge the ideologies of Catholicism and shake the Church to its core

We are apt to think of the late medieval Church as a mire of abuses, crowded with disgruntled parishioners and scandalous priests. From this perspective, the 16th-century Reformation can seem inevitable, a necessary cleansing of the stables. While it is true that dynamic figures such as the Bohemian Jan Hus and the Englishman John Wycliffe made urgent calls for reform during the 14th and 15th centuries, we should not assume that everything was rotten in the state of Christendom. There was excess and corruption, just as there always had been, but in many ways the devotional life of Europe remained in tolerably good health. Many thought that change was necessary, but few anticipated a revolution, and virtually nobody saw the Reformation that was to come.

This makes the developments of the 16th century, inaugurated by Martin Luther's protest, all the more remarkable. In the past, dissent had been localised and ultimately snuffed out. This time around, it rapidly gathered momentum and tore the continent apart. It is always worth remembering, however, that this was not Luther's original intention. At the outset, in 1517, he was a little-known professor at a lacklustre provincial university who simply wanted to provoke academic debate. By the time of his death, in 1546, he would be lionised by one of his closest friends as "the charioteer of Israel who has led the Church in these last times". A lot can certainly happen in a little under 30 years.

Born in Eisleben, Saxony, in 1483, Luther proved a gifted student and, after university



studies, seemed destined for a legal career. Terrible weather intervened. In 1505, Luther was caught in a severe thunderstorm and, fearing for his life, made a pledge to St Anne that, should he survive, he would take up a monastic vocation. It seems likely this was simply the catalyst for a decision that Luther was already edging towards, but, sure enough, he headed for the strict Augustinian monastery at Erfurt.

He would be ordained, pursue theological studies, both at Erfurt and Wittenberg, and embark upon a teaching career. These, though, were troubled years for Luther. He found it impossible to conceive how he, or any person, could merit the precious gift of salvation. He began to find answers through his reading of Paul's Epistle to the Romans. No matter how wretched and corrupt human beings might be, God still offered them the hope of eternal bliss. The single prerequisite was belief. "Faith alone," Luther later wrote, "without works, justifies, frees and saves." Luther did not reach his conclusions in a single eureka moment, but this concept of being saved, not as a result of our puny actions, but through faith and the extraordinary, unmerited generosity of God, would emerge as one of the cornerstones of Protestantism.

Tied to such musings was Luther's scepticism, or outright dismay, regarding some of the central beliefs and practices of the established Church. Indulgences came in for particularly sharp criticism. These documents, granted in return for good deeds or even financial payment, were held to provide remission for sins and reduce the period of punishment in purgatory.

Luther found this notion, and particularly its commercialisation, deeply offensive, not least when a wide-ranging indulgence-peddling campaign was launched in Germany, chiefly aimed at raising funds for the rebuilding of Rome's St Peter's Basilica.

This was the spark for Luther's famous Ninety-five Theses, penned in 1517. Though routinely, and not unreasonably, regarded as the starting gun of the Reformation, the theses were only intended to provoke scholarly discussion about the rectitude of indulgences. Historians continue to argue over whether the theses were nailed to the door of the castle church in Wittenberg, and there is every chance that this seemingly epochal event was a later, mythologising concoction. The crucial point, however, is that advertising academic debating points by displaying them on church doors was in fact an entirely routine practice and, if Luther followed suit in October 1517, it would not have caused a great stir.

During his career Luther produced 544 books, pamphlets and articles. In 1523 alone he brought 55 works to the presses

The truly significant move was sending copies of the theses, along with provocative letters, to two leading Churchmen: the bishop of Brandenburg and, crucially, the archbishop of Mainz. Luther's fundamental criticisms were not especially novel, but the underlying theology held latent potential for disruption. Key issues about ecclesiastical authority and topics as sensitive as grace and salvation were at stake. Though Luther presumably did not anticipate the consequences, his actions demanded a response, and over the coming two years he was summoned to Rome (an invitation that he declined) and quizzed by uneasy theologians.

Matters came to a head in Leipzig in 1519. Johann Eck, a skilled debater, challenged Luther's ideas, made comparisons between Luther and Jan Hus, and through his rhetoric pushed Luther towards outbursts he would probably have preferred to avoid. "Are you the only one who knows anything?" Eck asked at one point. "Except for you, is all the Church in error?" Luther's reply was perilously blunt: "I want to believe freely and be a slave to the authority of no one, whether council, university or pope. I will confidently confess what appears to me to be true, whether it has been asserted by a Catholic or a heretic." The touchpaper had been lit.

Reformation and retribution

The Lutherdenkmal (Luther Monument) in Worms. The great reformer of Wittenberg is flanked by other leading figures of the Reformation

The papacy's response was initially sluggish but was ultimately ferocious. By 1520 Luther was saying some withering things about the court of Rome: it had become "the most lawless den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the very kingdom of sin, death and hell". In June of 1520, the pope issued a bull, Exsurge Domine, which called on Luther to recant. "Foxes have arisen" in the vineyard of the Lord, the document warned, and "the wild boar from the forest seeks to destroy it". In Germany, "lying teachers are arising… their tongues are fire, a restless evil, full of deadly poison. They have bitter zeal, contention in their hearts, and boast and lie against the truth."

Luther publicly burned the document in December, and, in short measure, a bull of excommunication arrived. It denounced the Wittenberg professor as an "accursed heretic" and the "slave of a depraved mind". Strong stuff, but Luther's trials were far from over. He now had to face the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, at the Diet of Worms. Luther had hoped for a meaningful debate but instead he was simply instructed to renounce the contents of his books. With no small courage he declared that if he did so "all I shall achieve is to add strength to tyranny and open not the windows but the doors to this monstrous godlessness". Declared a heretic and an outlaw, Luther's life and liberty were in peril, so, on the way back to Wittenberg, a fake kidnapping was arranged with Luther being transferred to the safe harbour of the formidable Wartburg Fortress.

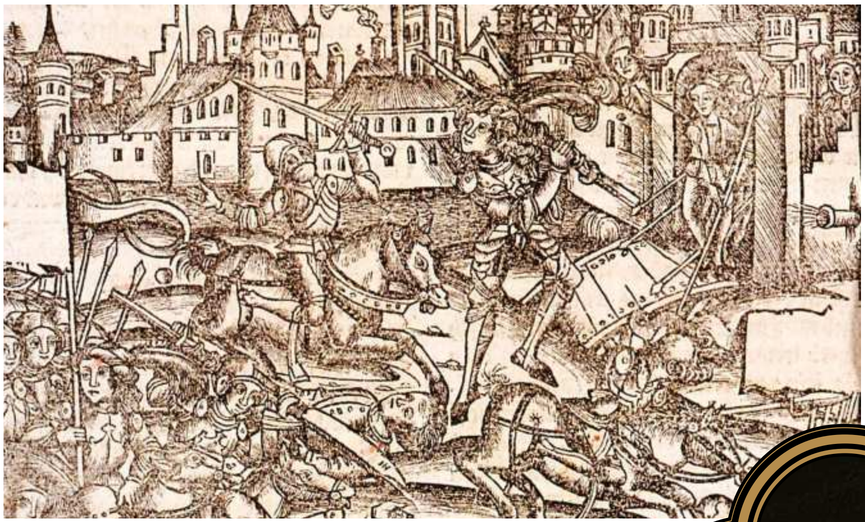
Here, Luther completed his translation into German of the New Testament. The idea of vernacular Scripture was not novel (the medieval era had seen its share of Biblical translations) but it gained new momentum during the 16th century and would go on to become another of the defining characteristics of the Reformation.

Luther, nicknamed the 'Nightingale of Wittenberg,' was known for his fine singing voice

Luther held to the principle of sola scriptura: that scripture alone was the guide to faith and the blueprint for every aspect of devotion and ritual. Such a precious commodity was to be available to all the faithful. Luther's translation of the complete Bible appeared in 1534 and, over the next 40 years, 100,000 copies were produced.

The power of print reached far beyond Holy Writ, of course. Luther began to compose influential and best-selling tracts in the late 1510s and he was responsible for a fifth of all Protestant literary output during the 1520s. If any single factor explains the startling success of his movement, and all Protestant movements that followed, it is this alliance with the fledgling technology of the printing press. No previous dissenting Christians had enjoyed such a tool with which to spread their message.

It is crucial to stress that, even after the showdowns with emperor and papacy, Luther



LEFT The Peasant's War of 1524-25 was inspired, in part, by Luther's theology. The conflict came to a bloody end at the Battle of Frankenhausen

BELOW Luther's 1543 tract *On the Jews and their Lies*, marked the height of his anti-Semitic sentiment

LUTHER AND JUDAISM

In his 1523 tract *That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew*, Luther argued for the toleration of Germany's Jewish population, going so far as to suggest that Jews should be able to pursue careers in any given profession they desired.

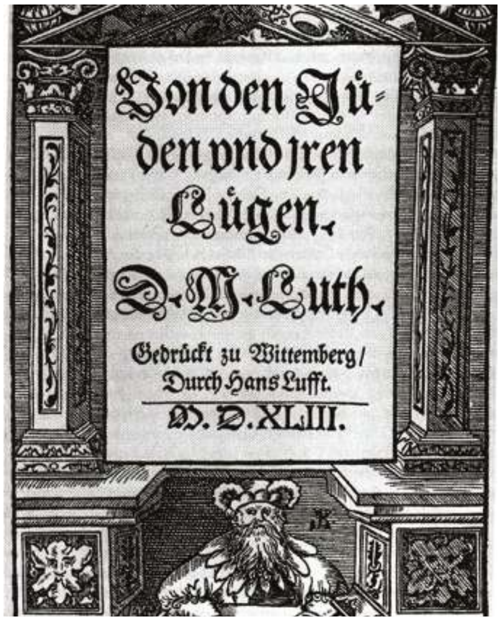
This did not signal affection or admiration of Judaism, however. The goal was to treat Jewish people with a modicum of dignity so that they might be more likely to convert to Christianity. Luther's profound theological distaste for Judaism was always unflinching. Tellingly, the suggestions of the 1523 tract were never enacted in any Lutheran territories and, through the 1530s, Luther's attitudes hardened. By 1543 he was composing one of his most vicious texts, and one that has always tarnished his reputation: *On the Jews and their Lies*.

In its pages, Luther urged the razing of Jewish synagogues and buildings, the destruction of Jewish books, and the prohibition of rabbinical teaching. Jews, he barked, had proven stubborn through their refusal to accept Christ: they were as hard as "a stick, as stone, as iron, as the devil". They remained the "bitter, virulent, and vicious enemies of Christians" and the wisest policy would be to expel them and "be rid of the unbearable, devilish burden." Luther would still be making such pronouncements in his very last sermon of February 1546.

was a long way from establishing a robust and clearly defined new Christian denomination. At this early stage, hope of reconciliation was not lost and reform from within still seemed feasible. Events were quickly spiralling out of control, however, and Luther's own success made an irreversible schism increasingly likely. Across the German-speaking parts of the empire, Luther's ideas were winning influential support. In Nuremberg, in 1521, reformed preaching was permitted and other towns and cities, like Ulm and Strasbourg, followed suit. Lofty princes such as Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Philipp of Hesse also joined the ranks.

Less welcome, from Luther's point of view, was the recruitment of his message by the German peasants and farmers who rose in rebellion between 1524 and 1525. At first, in his *Admonition to Peace*, Luther accepted that the rebels had some legitimate complaints while regretting their tendency to justify disobedience through appeal to the Gospels. By the time he wrote *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, Luther's innate social conservatism was given full voice. The powers-that-be ought to "smite, slay and stab" the insurgents, "remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful or devilish than a rebel… it is just as when one must kill a mad dog." Luther talked in terms of two kingdoms - the secular and the religious - but this did not excuse the rejection of legitimate political authority. He believed in the liberty of Christians, but he could not tolerate his ideas being hijacked by rebels. From

Luther once found a dog in his room and, thinking it to be Satan, threw it out of the window



Von den Jüden vnd jren Lügen.

D. M. Luth.

Gedrückt zu Wittemberg / Durch Hans Lufft.

M. D. XLIII.

now on, the Lutheran Reformation was to be of the magisterial variety: overseen by territorial and municipal rulers.

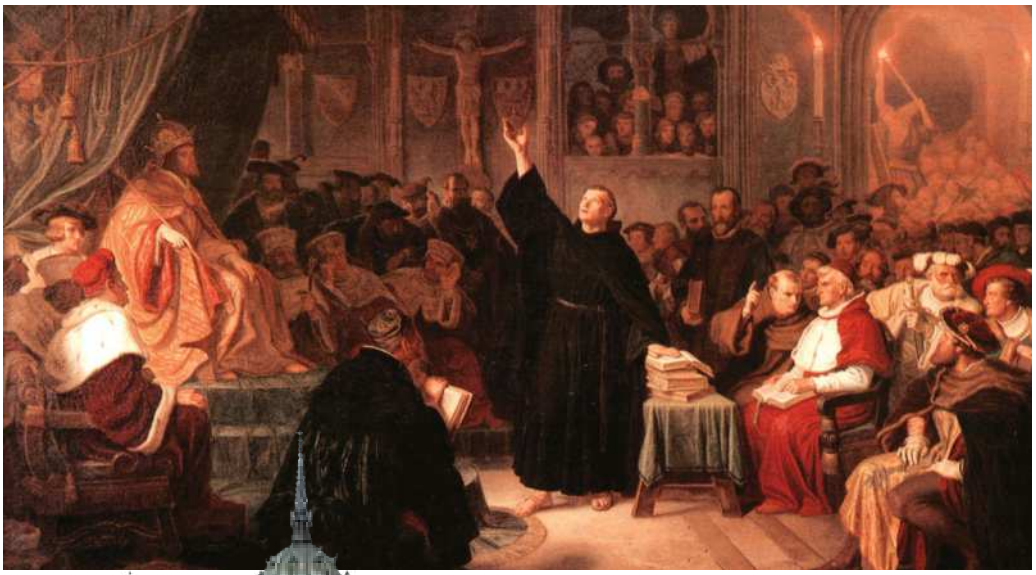
This need to sustain order permeated Luther's activities during the 1520s and 1530s. He had returned to Wittenberg from the Wartburg in 1522 precisely in order to check the radicalism of overly enthusiastic followers who, in his absence, had begun to behave as if they had "devoured the Holy Spirit, feathers and all." Luther would always insist on being the custodian of his own message. In the same spirit, he often took the lead in defining the ecclesiastical structures and devotional priorities of his emerging Church, and generations of Lutherans would be guided by the pithy, accessible catechisms he produced in 1529.

Luther's was not the only version of Reform, however, and this posed daunting problems for any hope of Protestant unity. To the south, in Zurich, Ulrich Zwingli had been forging a more radical vision since 1522, marked by more radical theologising and iconoclastic excess. In 1529 Luther met with Zwingli at the colloquy of Marburg. It was a disaster. The chief sticking point was the Eucharist. Luther had no time for the Catholic notion of transubstantiation, in which the substance of bread and wine transformed into the substance of Christ's body and blood, preferring the idea of consubstantiation: the substance of the bread and wine coexisting with the body and blood of Christ without what Luther regarded as some over-philosophised magical change.

Zwingli, by contrast, insisted that the Eucharist was a symbolic memorial of Christ's sacrifice, no more no less, and that any notion of the Real Presence was abhorrent. This seemingly abstruse point of theology, one among many differences, made any meaningful reconciliation between the two men impossible and signalled a division between Lutheranism and the so-called Reformed Churches, with Calvinism soon to follow in Zwingli's footsteps.

This sense of fragmentation would come to define Protestantism. Differences over doctrines of salvation, ecclesiastical structures,

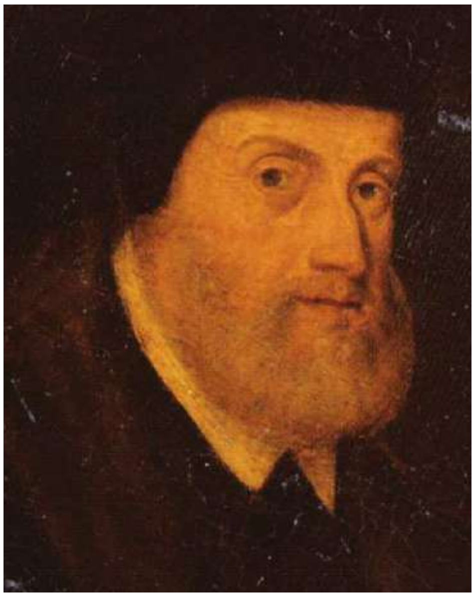
> Luther liked his beer, declaring that the more you drink, the more you sleep, and the more you sleep, the less you sin



1521
The Diet of Worms

Following Luther's excommunication in January 1521, he is summoned to the Diet of Worms, the empire's highest legislative body. Here he faces the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (pictured). Rather than the theological debate anticipated by Luther, he is simply shown his books and told to renounce them. After a day's consideration, Luther refuses to comply.

Having been denounced as a heretic and an outlaw, Luther's life is in danger and his protector, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, stages a mock kidnapping on the route back to Wittenberg. Luther is taken to the safety of the Wartburg Fortress where he remains for 11 months.



1517
The Ninety-five Theses

Historians differ over whether Luther nailed his famous theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg Castle (pictured), but the posting of points for academic debate was common practice and would not have ruffled feathers. Printed editions of the theses had begun to appear in Nuremberg, Leipzig and Basel by December. A tract, in German, summarising his arguments appeared in 1518 (the *Sermon on Indulgence and Grace*) and had gone through 12 editions by the end of the year. Luther was summoned to Augsburg in August 1518 to be quizzed by the papal legate, Thomas Cajetan, where his recantation was demanded but very much not forthcoming.

Timeline

1483

Birth of Martin Luther
Born in Eisleben, Saxony, 10 November, Martin was the son of Hans Luder, a copper miner, and Margarethe. The couple would have eight other children. Martin later altered the spelling of his surname.

1501

Luther enrols at University of Erfurt
Luther would study the liberal arts at this centre of humanist thought and become Master of Arts in 1505. He embarked on higher legal studies.

1505

Luther enters the monastery
Caught in a storm, Luther makes a pledge to St Anne that he will become a monk if he survives. He goes to the monastery of the order of Augustinian Eremites.

1507

Luther ordained as priest
Also in this year, Luther makes his first visit to the recently founded Wittenberg University. He gains a lower theology degree in 1507 and his doctorate in 1512.

1519

Disputation at Leipzig
The Ingolstadt theologian Johann Eck engages with Luther and presses him to make bolder statements than Luther likely intended, who is compared to 14th-century heretic Jan Hus.

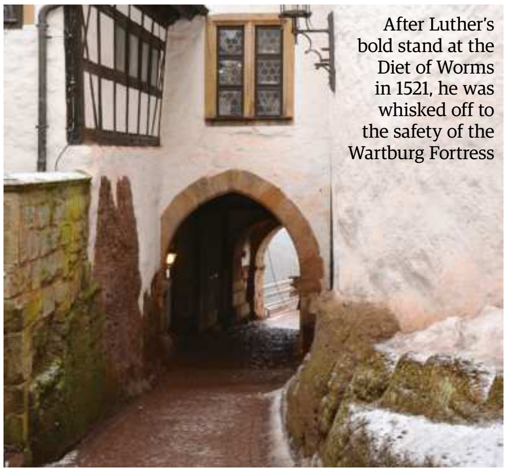
1520

The first major works
Three epochal tracts appear: *The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *The Freedom of the Christian Man* (both in German), and the *Latinate Babylonian Captivity*.

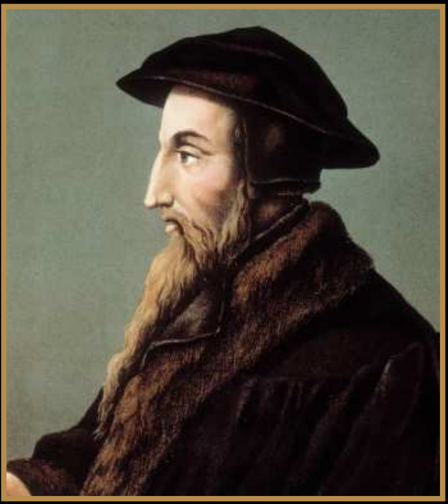
the number and nature of sacraments, and countless other fault lines emerged. It was impossible to contain what Luther had unleashed within a single vision of what Protestantism ought to be. Luther's version claims primacy in terms of chronology, however, and while a product of its time and place, it did reach back to some of the aspirations of the medieval firebrands. The difference was that it spread and endured.

By the time of Luther's death in 1546, the religious landscape of Germany was in chaos. The patchwork nature of the political map meant that Catholic and Lutheran towns and principalities sat side by side and would shortly fall into conflict. A compromise of sorts arrived in 1555 with the Peace of Augsburg. From now on, the local ruler was at liberty to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism and impose it upon his subjects. It was a messy solution but one that would have been unthinkable just half a century earlier, when almost everyone believed in the fiction of a united Christendom. Wittingly or not, Martin Luther had extinguished that dream.

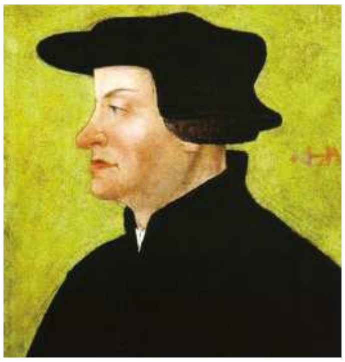
> Though a sophisticated theologian, Luther displayed the common touch in his writings, with homely images


After Luther's bold stand at the Diet of Worms in 1521, he was whisked off to the safety of the Wartburg Fortress

THE REFORMATION EXPANDS



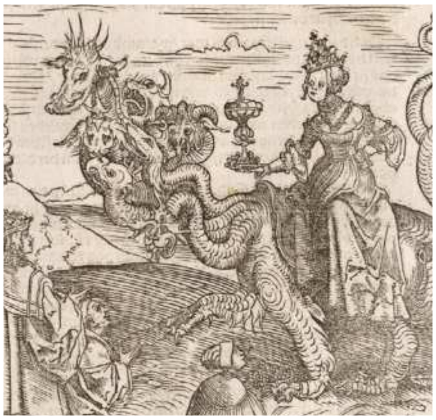
Born in Noyon, northeast France, in 1509, John Calvin abandoned early plans to enter the priesthood in order to study law. In Paris, he was carried by the reformist tides of Humanism and, by the early 1530s, had been won over to the Protestant message. Fearing for his safety, he left France in 1534 and, in 1536, produced the first version of his great theological work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion.* In the same year he arrived in Geneva, where the reformer Guillaume Farel convinced him to share in the work of creating his version of a godly city. Calvin's rigour led to his banishment in 1538 but, after a spell in Strasbourg, he was invited back in 1541. From then until his death in 1564, Calvin took the leading role in Geneva's religious transformation and helped to shape a culture in which, through the work of the consistory court, morality was closely monitored and corrected. Calvin argued for the untrammelled authority of Scripture, inaugurated new ecclesiastical structures which did away with the old priestly caste, and developed a radical theological vision. The centrepiece was the doctrine of double predestination. Flawed, corrupt human beings could expect to play no role in decisions about their salvation. They were simply bound either for eternal bliss or perdition. Calvinism would become the most influential of Protestant denominations, spreading as far as Scotland, the fringes of Eastern Europe, and North America. Debates about the specifics of Calvinist doctrine, with rigorists battling moderates, would rumble on for centuries.



1529

Speyer and Marburg

At the Colloquy of Marburg, the Lutheran prince Philipp of Hesse hopes to reconcile the leaders of the Swiss and German Reformations. Disagreements over the Eucharist make it impossible for Luther to reach accord with the leader of reform in Zurich, Ulrich Zwingli (pictured). At the Diet of Speyer, five Lutheran princes launch a formal protestation because earlier freedom for rulers to determine how to respond to the Reformation within their own territories is rescinded. The use of the word Protestant, referring to this event, comes into use from this point.



LEFT An image from Luther's German translation of the New Testament. For Luther, scripture was the true guide to faith

1522

Return to Wittenberg
A rise in religious extremism, notably the arrival of the Zwickau prophets in December 1521, forces Luther to return to Wittenberg. He works to dampen the radicalism of reformers.

1524–25

German Peasants' War
Though rooted in socio-economic discontent, preachers loyal to the rebels appeal to Luther's concept of Christian liberty. The peasants' demands carry echoes of Luther's ideas.

1525

Luther marries
Luther weds Katharina von Bora, a former nun who arrived in Wittenberg in 1523. The couple have six children. The death of a daughter, Magdalena, in 1542 sends Luther into despair.

1530

Augsburg Confession
The codification of Lutheran doctrines and worship, drafted by Melanchthon, is presented to Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg and published the next year.

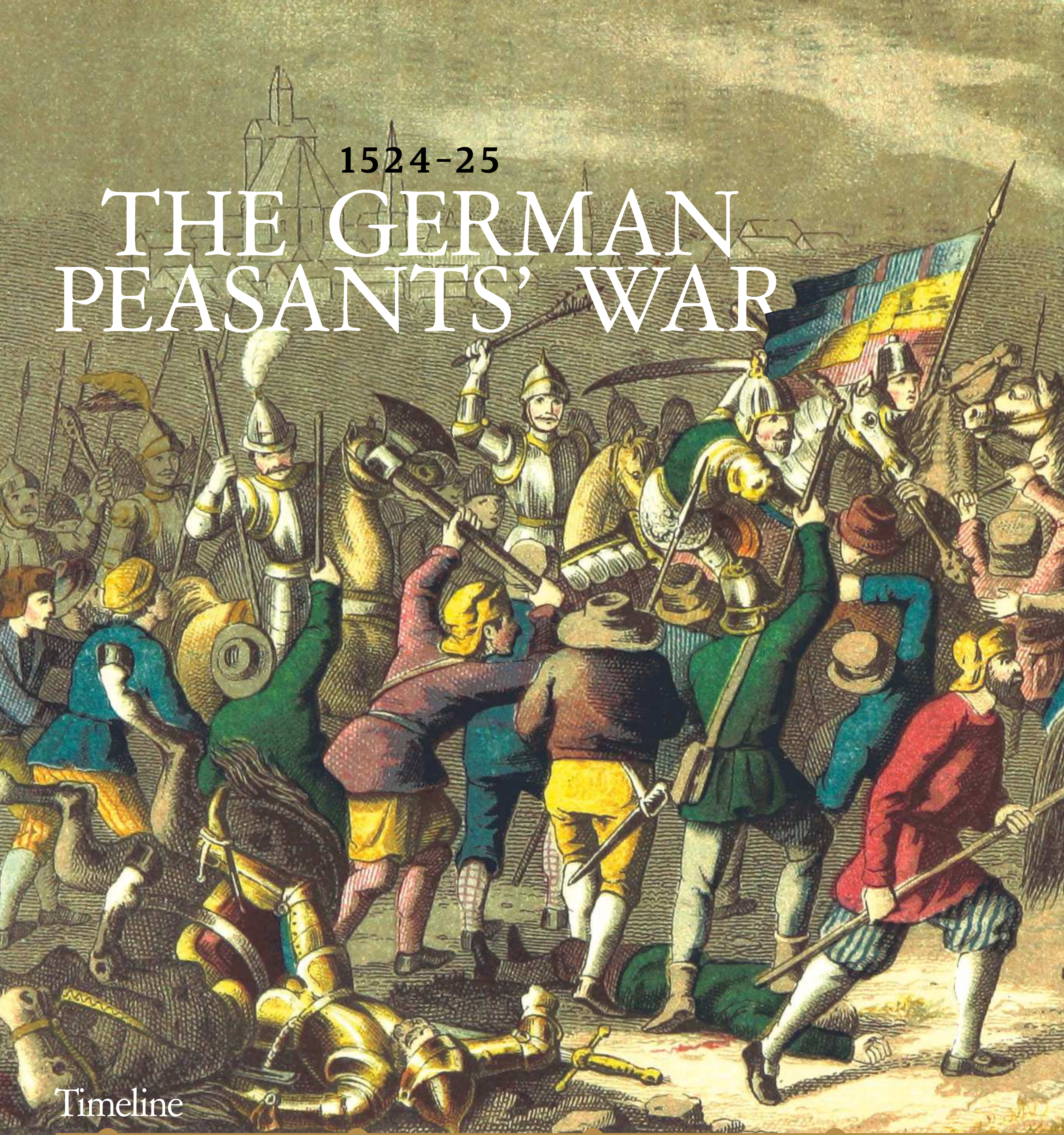
1531

Formation of Schmalkaldic League
This defensive alliance of Lutheran princes and towns played a major role in the expansion of Lutheranism. It came into conflict with Charles V.

1546

Luther's death
After preaching his final sermon on 14 February, Luther dies in his hometown of Eisleben on the 18th of the month. He is 46 years old and is buried in Wittenberg.

Images: Alamy



1524–25

THE GERMAN PEASANTS' WAR

Timeline

JUNE 1524

The Countess of Lupfen demands a harvest of snail shells from the count's tenants on a holiday. Instead, the peasants raise a banner and create a list of grievances.

6–20 MARCH 1525

Representatives from the separate groups of peasants meet and discuss a set of common demands. They agree on what is known as the Twelve Articles.

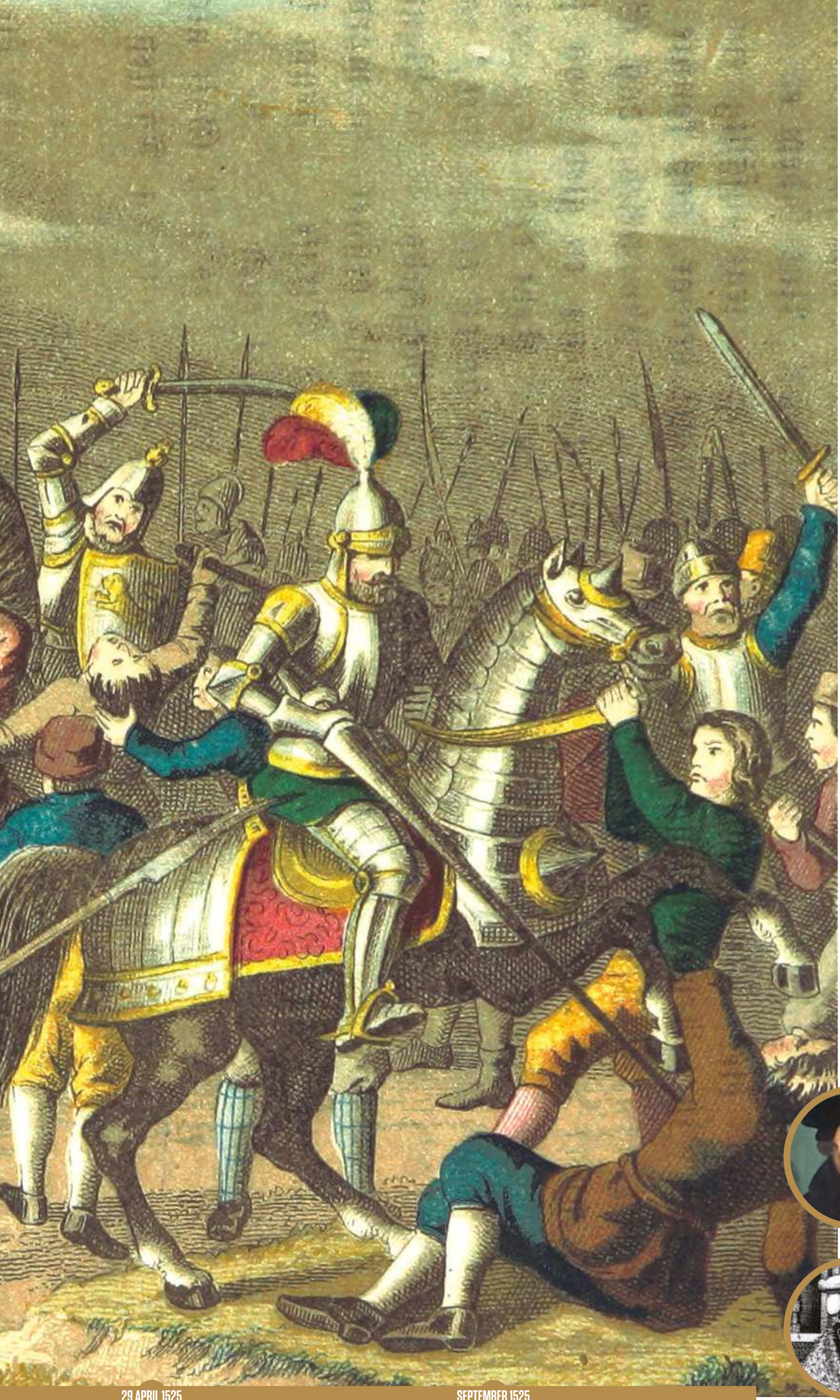
4 APRIL 1525

The peasants attempt to attack the city of Ulm in the Battle of Leipheim. Catching sight of the Swabian League, they attempt to retreat but 1,000 are killed.

13 MAY 1525

The peasants attack Weinsberg Castle, achieving victory and taking the count prisoner. They execute him along with 70 other nobles, but this causes a divide among the peasants.

German Peasants' War



WHAT WAS IT?

Following a period of unrest and economic trouble, peasants in the German-speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire rose up against the Catholic Church and landowners. The rebellion began in June 1524 at Stühlingen when approximately 1,000 men created a list of grievances, but by October more peasants had risen up in large numbers around most of southwest Germany.

Representatives of the rebels came together in Memmingen to find a common goal and created the Twelve Articles. This list of demands included free access to fish and game, release from serfdom and the right for a community to choose and depose its own pastor.

Published and printed widely, the Twelve Articles spread rapidly throughout Germany, sparking a series of battles and massacres. Most ended in the peasants' defeat. When the war ended, more than 100,000 had been killed, and the installation of harsh restrictions and terms discouraged further rebellion.

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

Conditions for peasants had been poor in the years preceding the revolt, with complaints of increasing workloads and high rent as nobles demanded more and more from the tenants and serfs to offset decreased land value. While the Reformation played a large part in the revolt, it did not appear in the first list of demands created by the peasants to rise at Stühlingen. It wasn't until the movement expanded that more religious grievances began to emerge and the rebels began to use the Lutheran ideas already preached in the towns and villages to find a common non-agrarian cause for war. Lines in the Twelve Articles such as "The Bible proves that we are free, and we want to be free" show inspiration from Luther's work.

WHO WAS INVOLVED?

Martin Luther

10 November 1483 – 18 February 1546

Translating the Bible into common German, Luther helped inspire the revolt. However, this was unintentional and he actually condemned the actions of the peasants.

Thomas Müntzer

1490 – 27 May 1525

Inspired by Luther's ideas, Müntzer became a leading radical reformer and supporter of the revolt, even personally leading troops in battle.

Georg Truchsess von Waldburg

25 January 1488 – 29 May 1531

Known as "scourge of the peasants", the commander of the Swabian League had a reputation for being harsh and pitiless towards his enemies.

29 APRIL 1525

The Battle of Frankenhausen sees the peasants defeated in battle against the armies of Phillip I of Hesse and George, Duke of Saxony. Müntzer is captured and killed shortly after.

SEPTEMBER 1525

The remains of the rebellion are put down and many peasants return to their farms. The peasant movement has ultimately failed.

EGO
VOBIS ROMAE
PROPITIVS
ERO

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

The forces of Catholicism were neither willing nor able to ignore the growing spread of Protestantism

Written by Ben Gazur

Newton's third law of motion states that "for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction". This holds true in mechanical systems but can be just as true for social forces. The pressure of the Protestant Reformation was met by a reaction from the Catholic Church. The Counter-Reformation involved the forces of states and the Church pushing back against the theological revolution being unleashed in Europe.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

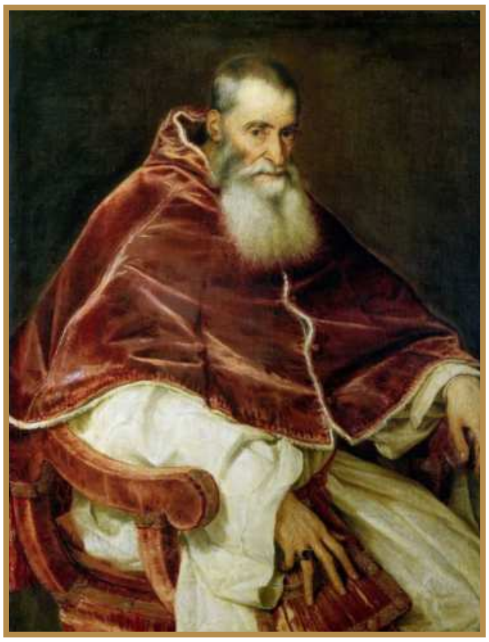
The initial reaction by the papacy to the threat of schism, caused by Martin Luther, had been to treat him as many heretical theologians had been dealt with in the past. In 1520, Pope Leo X had promulgated a bull titled Exsurge Domine, which refuted 41 of Luther's arguments and threatened him with excommunication unless he quickly and publicly recanted. When Luther burned his copy of Exsurge Domine the pope followed through with his threat, publishing a bull of excommunication in which he "decree[d] the sentences of excommunication, of anathema, of our perpetual condemnation and interdict" on Luther and all who followed him.

This might have been the end of the matter, but it proved radically insufficient in stemming the Protestant tide. Luther's teachings were spreading widely. Pope Adrian VI attempted some reforms of the papacy by limiting the number of indulgences granted but was stymied by members of the Roman curia. His successor on the throne of St Peter, Clement VII, was faced with crises of finances, war and the English Church breaking from Rome, which distracted from dealing with wider Reformation forces. It was only under his successor, Paul III, that the true Counter-Reformation could begin.

The pope's first step was to create a commission to examine the financial abuses of the papacy. Their report, *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia*, suggested many reforms. When it was published some Protestants were encouraged by its openness to change, though Luther was unconvinced. He was right to be suspicious: many of the reforms were never put into effect.

Under pressure from Emperor Charles V, a council was called which met at Trento in northern Italy. It was Charles' belief that once the Church was cleansed of the abuses that had driven Luther to publish his theses Protestants would return to the Catholic fold. Known as the Council of Trent, this meeting of cardinals, archbishops and bishops would meet in three sessions between 1545 and 1563. The emperor had intended this council to be open to Protestants so that the schism could be healed, but in the event Protestant observers were denied a vote in the Council's decisions and stayed away.

Instead of reconciliation, the council saw a retrenchment of Catholic doctrine. While some of the decrees of the Council of Trent did attempt to limit some abuses of clergymen, and the keeping of a concubine by priests was made an excommunicable offence, in the main the council restated the traditional views of the Church.



LEFT The Council of Trent recognised the power of art and architecture in spreading Catholicism and led to the development of the exuberant Baroque style

RIGHT Pope Paul III was the first pope to recognise the threat of the Protestant Reformation and acted decisively to quell it

Original sin was reconfirmed as a basis of doctrine. The validity of the seven sacraments was underlined. Crucially, the Lutheran idea that a human could be saved by faith alone, without good works, was utterly denied. The council listed many of the most common Protestant beliefs and gave a verdict on anyone who held to these opinions: "Let him be anathema." The outcome of the Council of Trent was a widening of the gulf between Catholics and Protestant reformers.

Charles V's own attempts to impose orthodoxy and unity on European Christianity through military force came to an end with the Peace of Passau in 1552 and the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. This guaranteed the rights of Lutherans to worship as they wished in the Holy Roman Empire. A compromise was reached that allowed rulers to set their own religious policy. The principle of cuius regio, eius religio ("whose realm, their religion") was adopted.

THE JESUIT ORDER

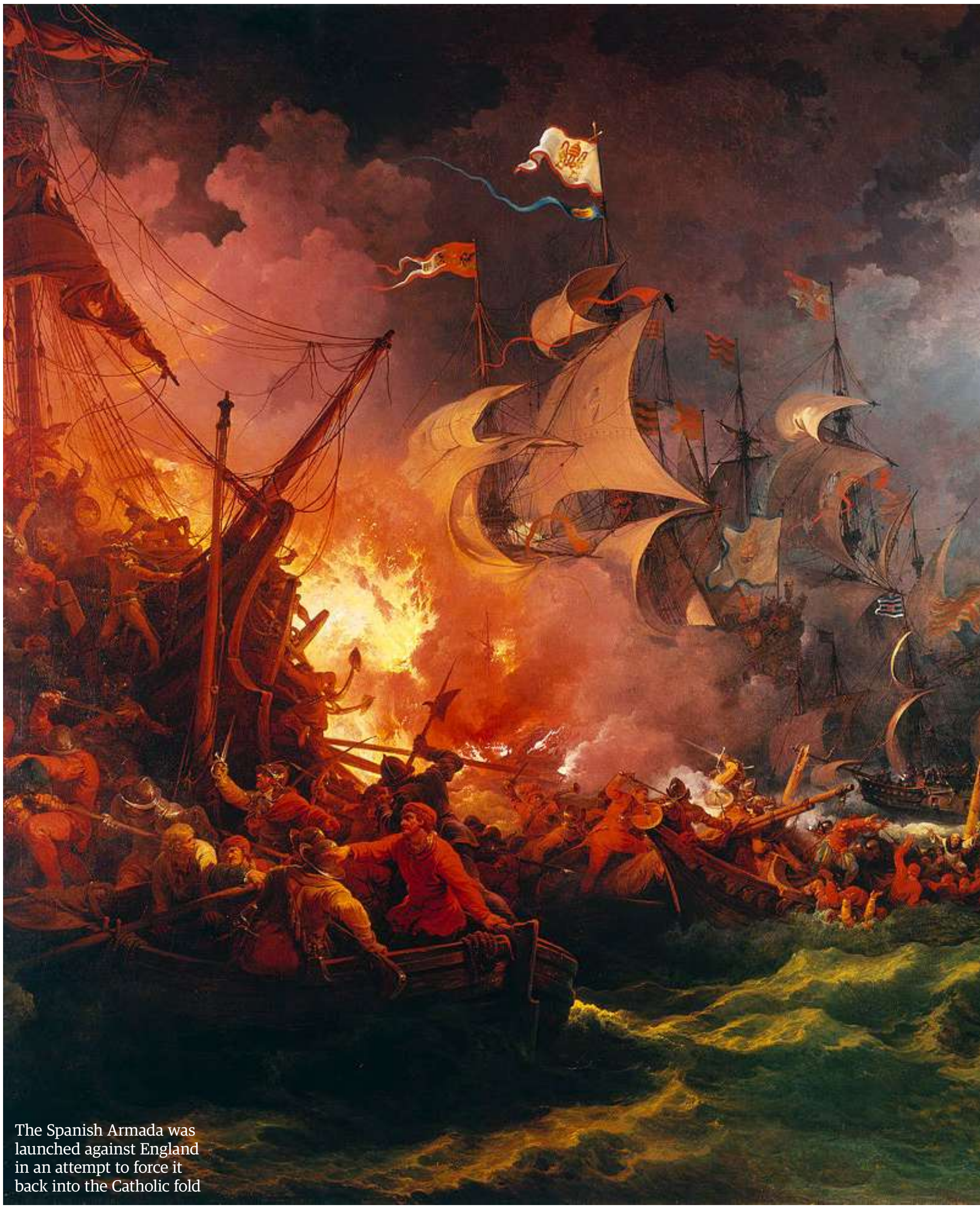
In 1540, Pope Paul III issued a bull titled To the Government of the Church Militant. In it, he gave official sanction to the creation of the Society of Jesus – better known as the Jesuits. They were given the authority to create schools and colleges and to ensure that the masses were taught the orthodox beliefs of the Catholic Church. Soon their mission would be to educate princes and kings, act as their advisors, and win back areas that had been at risk of falling from the embrace of Rome.

The Jesuits owed loyalty directly to the pope, which led to some resistance. The order was only slowly tolerated in France, where it was feared their influence would remove the independence of their church. Under Elizabeth I of England, the Jesuits were feared as undercover enemies who might spread religious dissent in England. Indeed, Jesuit emissaries were sent into England, Scotland and Ireland to stir up Catholics. Men such as Edmund Campion entered England under the guise of a jewel merchant but immediately began to preach to Catholics.

The English fought back. Campion was caught and questioned under torture then executed by being hung, drawn and quartered. In 1584 parliament passed 'An act against Jesuits, seminary priests, and such other like disobedient persons' that ordered all Jesuits to leave the country within 40 days or face punishment for high treason.

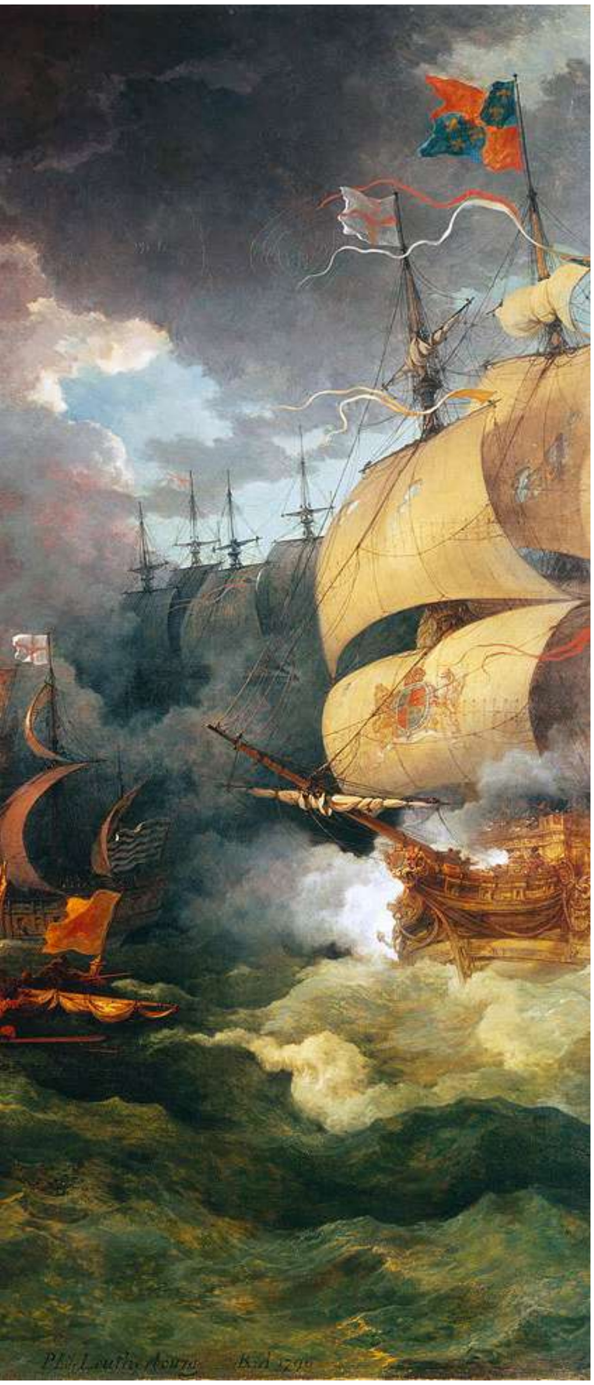
Of course, soft power was not the only way that Catholic monarchs struck back against Protestant states. The English throne had temporarily returned to Catholicism under Mary I and her Spanish husband Philip II. When Mary died the English throne had passed to the pragmatically Protestant Elizabeth I. Philip attempted to retake England, but his armadas of 1588, 1597, and 1598 utterly failed.

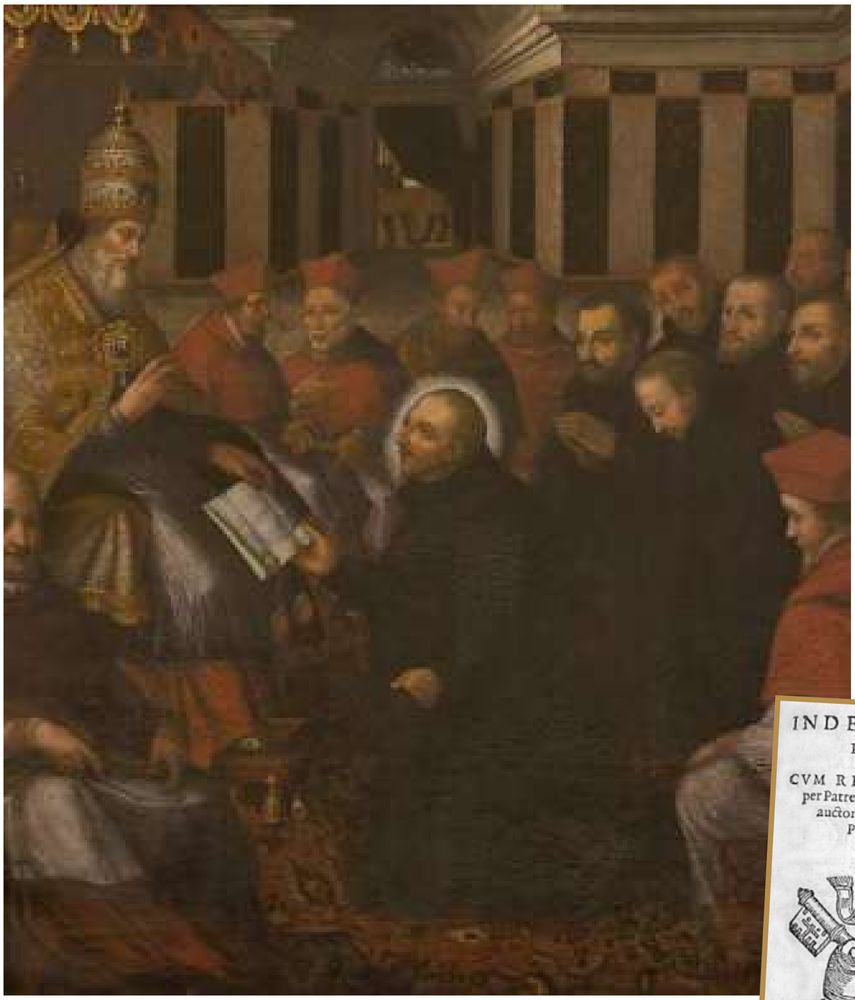
The Jesuits enjoyed greater success in other areas. One writer of the time described how, "In many countries, obedience to the pope has almost ceased, and matters are becoming so critical that, if God does not interfere, they will soon be desperate. Germany leaves little hope of being cured. Poland is in almost as hopeless a state." Yet Poland and Hungary were soon brought back to Catholicism, largely through the subtle work of Jesuits in education. The University of Graz was founded in Austria in 1586 and counteracted the growing rise of Lutheranism there.



The Spanish Armada was launched against England in an attempt to force it back into the Catholic fold

The Jesuits and the centralised Catholic Church were often able to work in a united way to achieve their goals. Protestant churches could not always rely on each other for support as each held beliefs that others considered heretical.

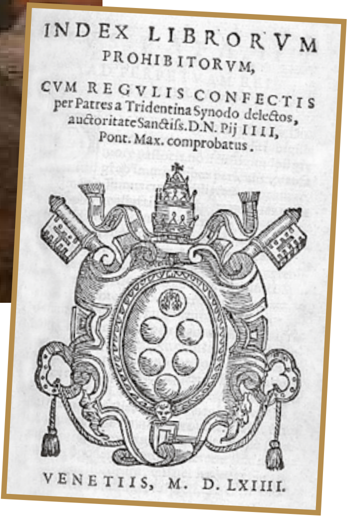




LEFT Pope Paul III approved the formation of the Jesuit order, who were employed in fighting the Reformation through education - and other means

INSET Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, attempted to conquer Protestant states in his domain but was forced to acknowledge some religious toleration

BELOW *The Index of Prohibited Books* sought to keep works that went against Catholic doctrine out of the hands of the faithful



INDEX LIBRORVM
PROHIBITORVM,
CVM REGVLIS CONFECTIS
per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos,
auctoritate Sanctiss. D.N. Pij IIII,
Pont. Max. comprobatus.

VENETIIS, M. D. LXIIII.

> *"With the strong support of Spain the Church was secured against many outside enemies"*

INTELLECTUAL STRIFE

The infamous Spanish Inquisition had been founded in 1478 to put a stop to heresy in the kingdoms of Spain. Its main aim was to discover which of the 'new Christians' - those who had converted from Judaism and Islam - were returning to their previous faiths. Those found guilty of apostatism could find themselves being burned alive at an auto de fé. While the vigilance of the Spanish Inquisition may have helped maintain religious orthodoxy there, Protestant propagandists used the fear of their methods to warn of the dangers of being ruled by a Catholic state.

In 1542, it was Pope Paul III who established a body of inquisitors to act against heresy. In time two former inquisitors would be elected pope in turn; Paul IV and Pius V. All inquisitors were put in their positions by the pope and so could be relied on to act according to his desires. What the pope wanted was an end to Reformation forces within Italy.

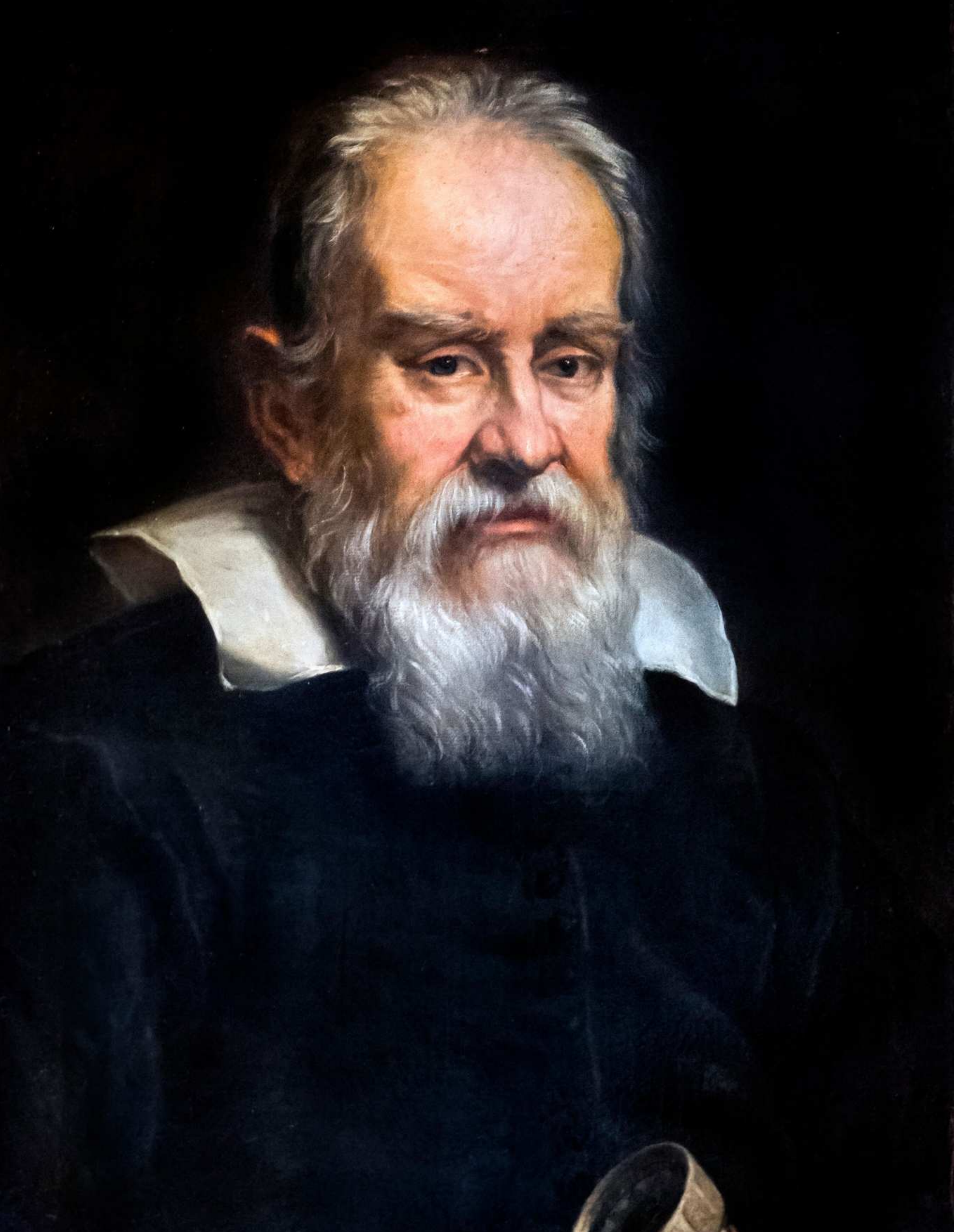
Writers whose work was found suspect might find themselves included in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*List of Prohibited Books*), which listed works both secular and religious that the Church did not approve. Works by Martin Luther, John Calvin and other Protestants were banned. Later authors as diverse as Voltaire, Sartre and Thomas Hobbes were similarly banished from the bookshelves of observant Catholics.

AFTERMATH

The Counter-Reformation both failed and succeeded. In its aim of returning European Christianity to its pre-Luther state, it failed. Protestantism in all its forms spread in many countries and the reach of the Catholic Church receded in many places, but in its attempts to secure the power of the papacy and Church doctrine in Catholic dominions, it succeeded. The Counter-Reformation also served to purify the Church and rid it of some of those practices that had first stirred the Reformation itself.

Although the extent of the Catholic lands in Italy was diminished by the Reformation, it found itself, after the Counter-Reformation, in a healthier position than it had for centuries previously. With the strong support of Spain the Church was secured against many outside enemies. With new orders such as the Jesuits it was able to spread its word across the globe.

The Peace of Augsburg had seen a recognition of the division between Protestant and Catholic states. This peace, however, did not last. With Protestantism spreading to new areas, a renewed religious conflict seemed inevitable. When it came in the form of the Thirty Year's War in 1618, religion and international politics sparked destruction that caused millions of deaths.



THE ROMAN INQUISITION

The Inquisitorial arm of the pope has a largely undeserved reputation for repressing the advance of science

Written by Edoardo Albert

In 1542, Europe was splitting apart into the rival political and religious camps produced by the Reformation. The old religion, which had encompassed the whole continent, had fractured, but quite where the borders would lie remained an open question. Both sides, the Catholic and the Protestant, were convinced of the truth of their causes and believed that they would prevail and Europe would again confess one religion, with the heretics or the papists purged.

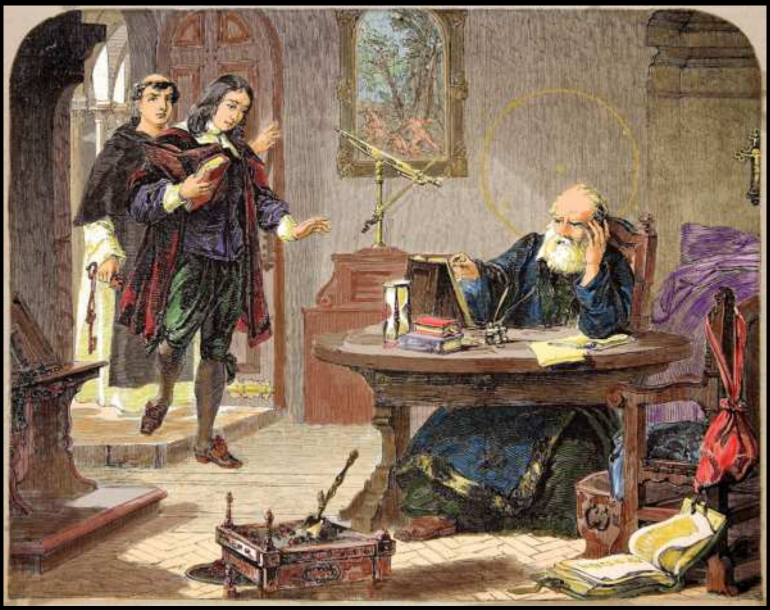
It is important to remember that neither side of this conflict believed in an individual right to freedom of conscience or religion. This was not because they were stupid or moral imbeciles, but rather flowed from the world view that both sides shared: they were dealing with the fates of men's immortal souls. Against that, neither side brooked the right of people to persist in what they saw as heresy. Both sides also believed fervently in the ideal of social unity, of a state, under its monarch, confessing a single faith in one god. The idea that we have now come to accept, that rival political and social strands of society should form 'parties' and take it in turns to run countries following elections to see which was currently more popular, would have seemed absurd to our forebears, not to mention a recipe for endless civil wars.

It was only the dreadful toll of the Wars of Religion in France, as well as the Thirty Years' War in central Europe and Germany, that convinced both parties that trying to bring Europe back to confessional unity by force was futile. Exhausted by conflict, the rival factions signed the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, effectively ending the European wars of religion.

The Roman Inquisition was one of the agencies that exacerbated the tensions of the 16th and 17th centuries, but it is important to remember that it was only a small part of the overall conflict and that both sides, Catholic and Protestant, spent the better part of 100 years attempting to extirpate the rival religion.

Within the context of this calamitous conflict the Roman Inquisition was actually a relatively mild influence. Pope Paul III founded the Roman Inquisition in 1542 as an office of the Catholic Church, dedicated to ensuring that states in union with the Church carried out papal bulls as well as rooting out heresy and acting as part of the wider Catholic Counter-Reformation.

In practice, the Roman Inquisition operated mainly within the states of the Italian Peninsula (Italy would not become a single unified country for another 300 years) acting to remove Protestant influence and maintain Catholic orthodoxy. Pope Sixtus V developed the organisation of the Inquisition further in 1588 when he published Immensa aeterni Dei,



LEFT Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) was impatient with fools and sure of his own opinions, even if he was wrong. But he was also the founder of modern astronomy and one of the most important thinkers in history, so his arrogance was largely justified

RIGHT Despite being under house arrest, Galileo was not prevented from seeing visitors. Of these, perhaps the most unexpected was the young English poet John Milton, future author of *Paradise Lost*

> *"The Roman Inquisition was, despite its reputation, a comparatively mild force for repression"*

giving it the official title of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition. Thus it remained for three and a half centuries, until 1908, when it was renamed the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, which it stayed as until 1965, when its name was changed again to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

During its long history, the Roman Inquisition was, despite its reputation, a comparatively mild force for repression. Being thoroughly sceptical towards claims of witchcraft, it acted to counteract the wider European witch-hunting frenzy of the 16th and 17th centuries. The Inquisition remained firm in its belief that witch sabbats were delusions rather than real events, insisted that witches could not be convicted solely on the basis of witnesses who might have held grudges against the accused, and generally held back from torture as a means of forcing confessions. As a result, Italy saw considerably fewer witch trials and executions than other parts of Europe, although, as elsewhere on the continent, the secular authorities pursued witches with less legal restraint.

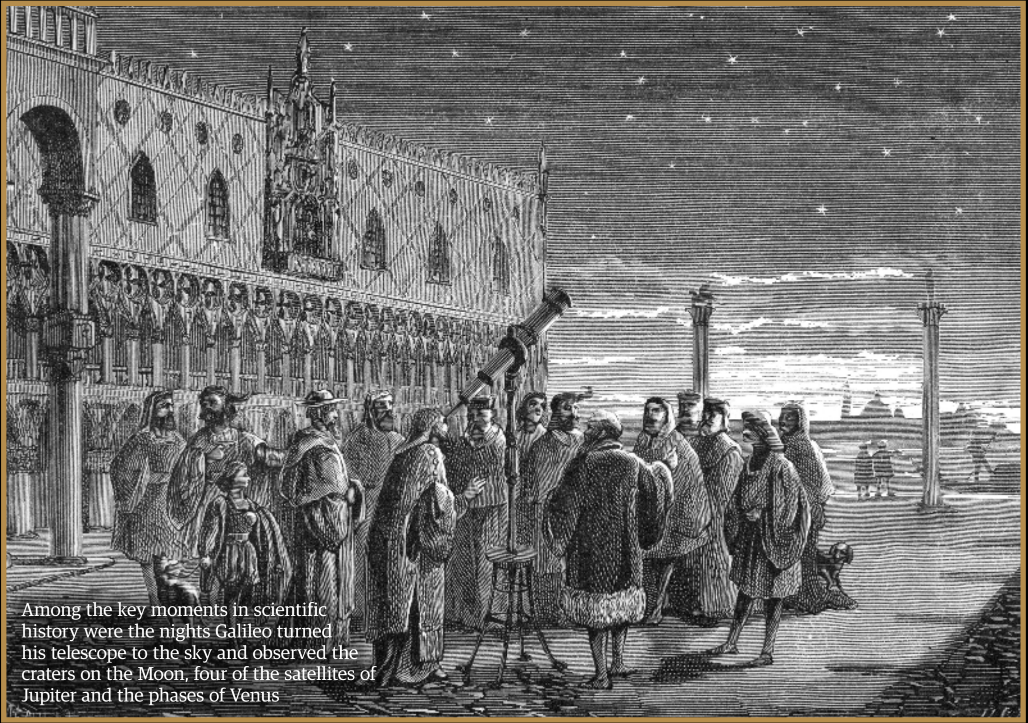
However, despite its record of general restraint, the Roman Inquisition became notorious as a symbol of the Catholic Church's supposed repression of the freedom of thought. The reason for this notoriety is a single case: the trial of Galileo Galilei.

So notorious has this case become that some people genuinely believe the Church burned Galileo at the stake for saying the Earth orbits the Sun. The trial was held up as positive proof that the Church was a force against progress and set upon stifling free inquiry.

In fact, the trial was a result of scientific rivalries and Galileo's arrogance. As one of the pioneers of astronomy, Galileo used his telescope to observe the phases of the planet Venus and four satellites of Jupiter. The accepted model of the time was the Ptolemaic geocentric model, with the Earth fixed at the centre and the Sun and planets revolving around it. However, Nicolaus Copernicus, a Polish cleric, had already developed an alternative model of the universe with the Sun at the centre and the planets in orbit around it.

The problem was that neither model fitted the observations of what the planets and Sun actually did. This was because Copernicus' model wasn't right: planetary orbits are elliptical, not spherical, and the Sun itself is not static but moving within the wider universe. However, as Copernicus presented his ideas as a theory, not as established fact, this was not a problem, and both models had their adherents.

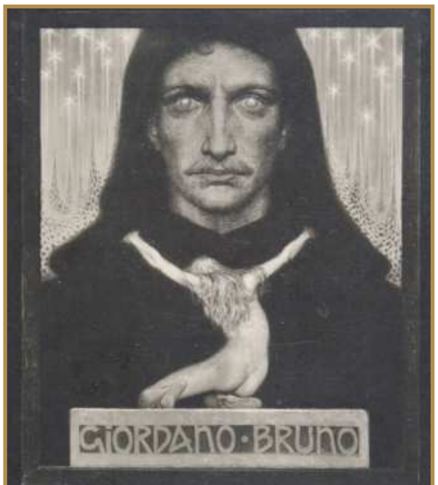
However, Galileo was a convinced follower of the heliocentric model. He rubbished the objections to the theory, which were actually well founded, and despite having many supporters



Among the key moments in scientific history were the nights Galileo turned his telescope to the sky and observed the craters on the Moon, four of the satellites of Jupiter and the phases of Venus

GIORDANO BRUNO

Meet the wandering 'heretic' who refused to denounce his beliefs and instead defended himself to an agonising end

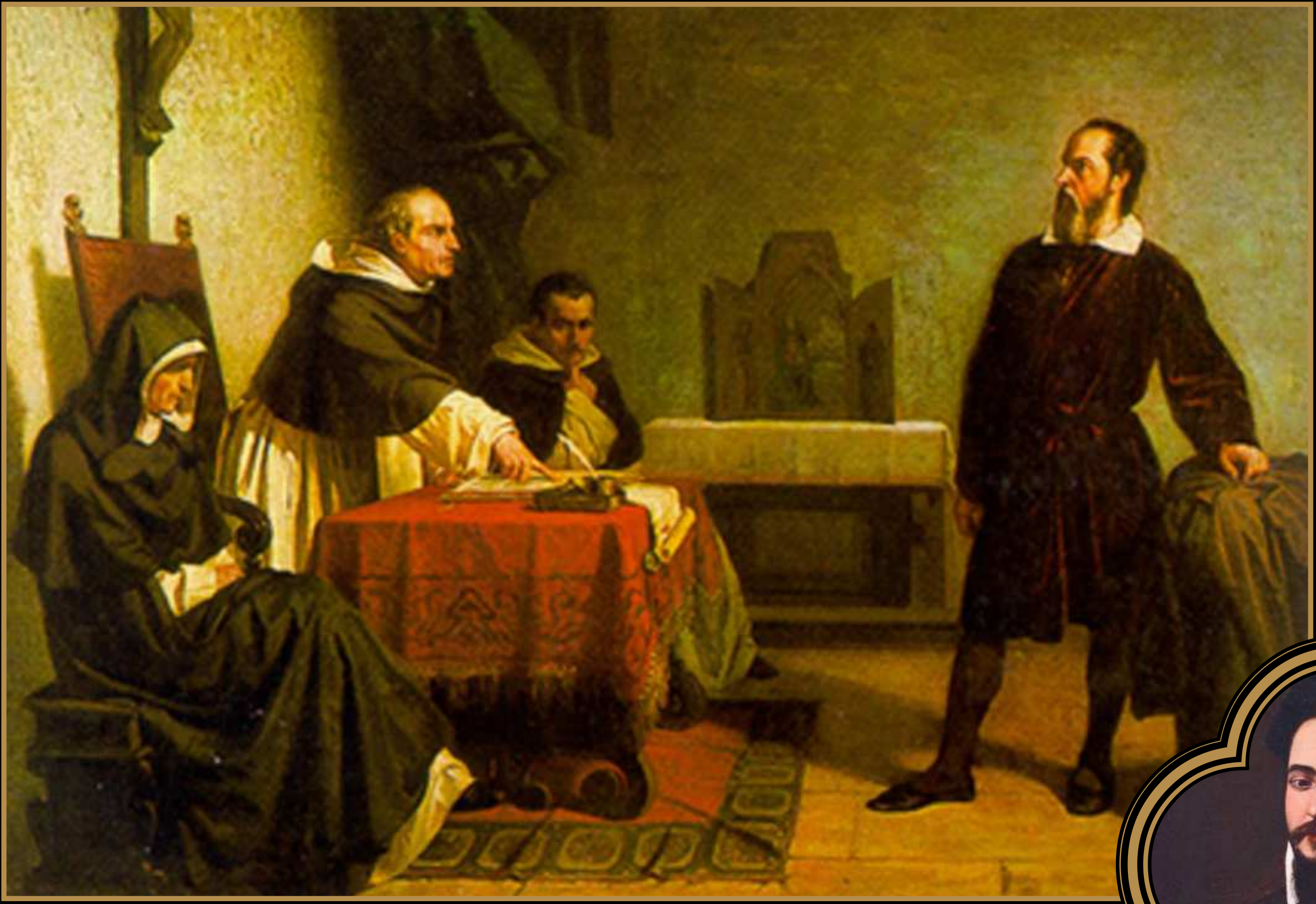


While Bruno's reputation as a scientific martyr is no longer tenable, he has become a major figure in the history of Western occultism and now has a statue in the square where he was executed

Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) was a Dominican friar who became a Calvinist and a magician. He was a scientist who embraced the occult. He was a wanderer through Europe in dangerous times, finding and losing powerful patrons even more quickly than his contemporary, Galileo. Within the context of the era, Bruno's ideas, which included reincarnation, an infinite universe and an even more strident belief in his version of heliocentrism, were dangerous and certain to provoke resistance. Indeed, much of Bruno's wanderings around Europe were the result of him having to leave places where he had provoked his friends into becoming enemies, including fleeing Germany when he was excommunicated by the Lutherans.

In 1591, Bruno returned to Italy, where he hoped to take the chair of mathematics at the University of Padua. However, Galileo took the post and Bruno moved to Venice, where he was denounced by his erstwhile host, the nobleman Giovanni Mocenigo. The Venetians turned Bruno over to the Roman Inquisition, before which he defended himself for seven years.

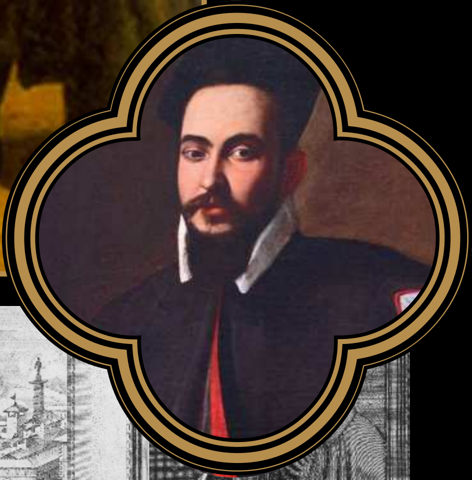
In the end, he was condemned for his philosophical and religious beliefs rather than his scientific ones and, on 17 February 1600, having been turned over to the secular authorities, he was burned to death on the Campo de' Fiori in Rome.



LEFT Galileo's trial before the Inquisition became a key part of the 19th-century idea of the war between science and faith

INSET Pope Urban VIII was pontiff for nearly 21 years, during which time he sponsored the arts and massively increased the debts of the Papal States

BOTTOM A key figure in the Counter-Reformation, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine played a crucial role in the condemnation of Giordano Bruno and the exoneration of Galileo in his first Inquisitorial trial



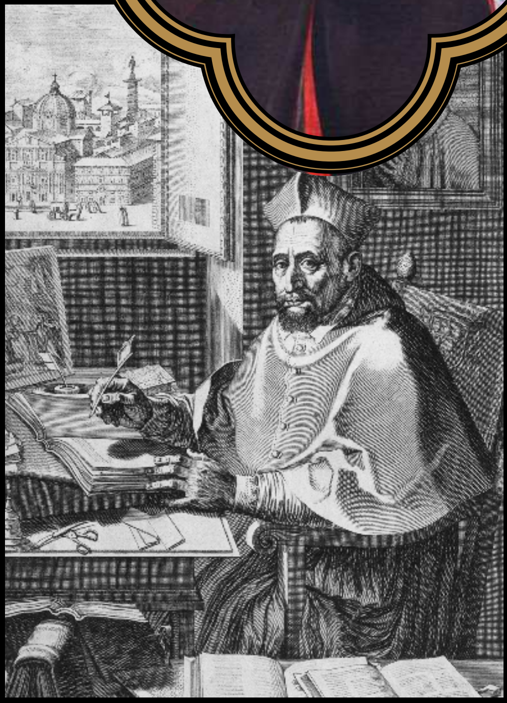
for his work among the Jesuits in Rome he went ahead and published his *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* in 1632. Galileo had been encouraged to write the book by the pope himself, Urban VIII, who had been a strong supporter of Galileo's work despite being attacked for his patronage by parts of the Church. Pope Urban VIII asked Galileo to set out in the book the arguments for and against the two competing systems and ensured that Galileo had formal permission from the Roman Inquisition to publish the book.

So, at the express request of the pope, Galileo wrote the *Dialogue*. He put the arguments for heliocentrism into the mouth of a philosopher named Salviati, and the arguments against he gave to a character he named Simplicio, a pun on the Italian word 'semplice', meaning 'simple-minded'. Far from being even-handed, Galileo completely loaded the argument in favour of his desired conclusion. What was worse, from the point of view of the pope, was the fact that Galileo seemed to be identifying him with the character of Simplicio.

At a stroke, Galileo had managed to lose his single most powerful and influential supporter – and he did so entirely unnecessarily. He was hauled up before the Inquisition, his views were condemned and he was required to formally renounce them on pain of punishment. The story that Galileo muttered, "Eppur si muove," ("And yet it moves") after his formal recantation appears to be a later invention, first appearing a century after Galileo's death.

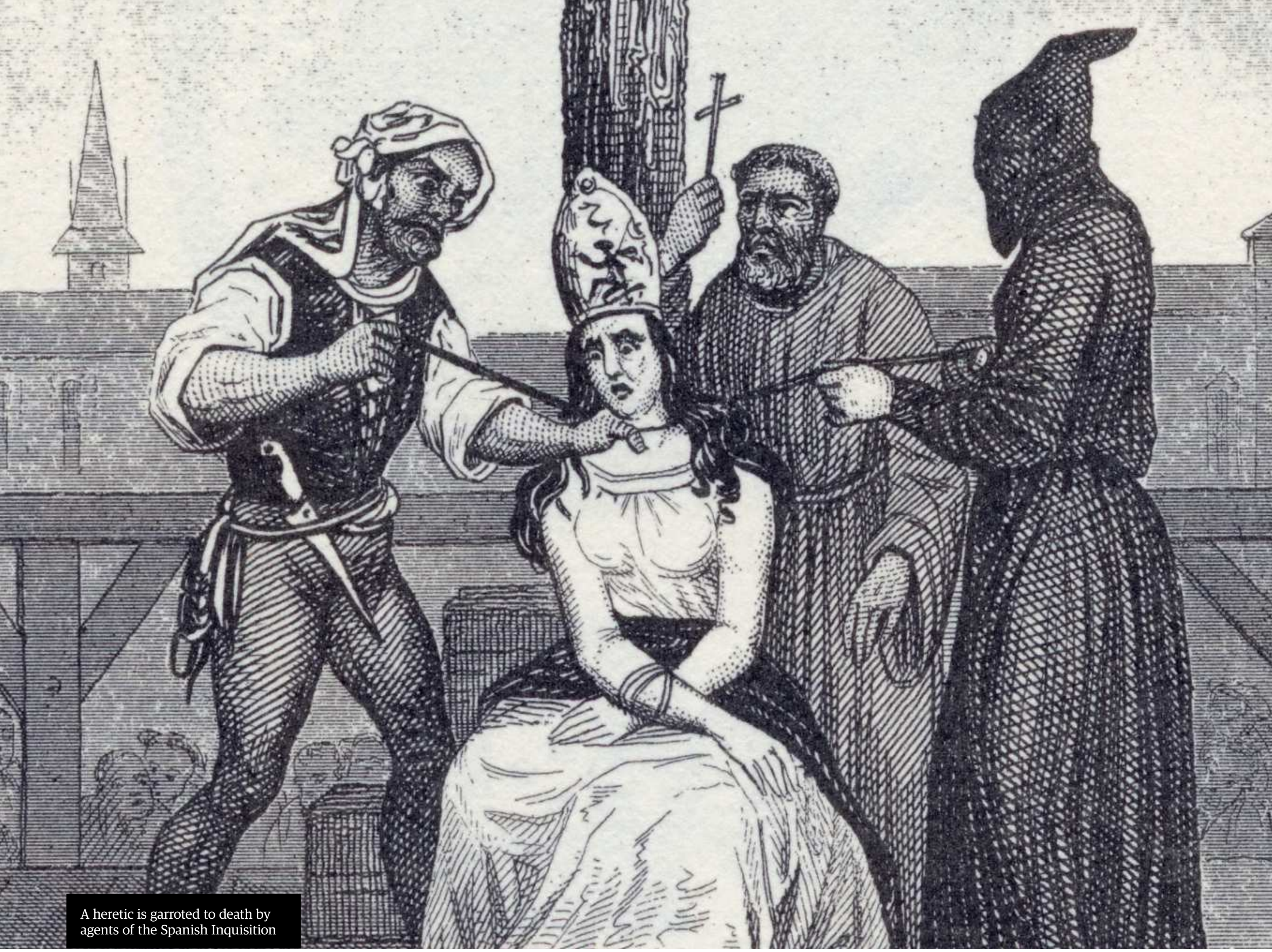
The Inquisition sentenced Galileo to house arrest rather than imprisonment, and he spent the remaining ten years of his life at his villa, although he was allowed to travel to Florence for medical advice. The Galileo Affair was used by polemicists in the 19th century to advance the idea that religion and science were fundamentally at odds. However, modern historians have showed that the case had nothing to do with repressing scientific knowledge and everything to do with clashing personalities acting against a backdrop of political conflict. If Galileo was a martyr to anything, it was to his inability to refrain from insulting his own supporters.

The Roman Inquisition remained, issuing an index of forbidden books (on which it had placed Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*) but its position within Italian life was ended by the reunification of Italy in 1861, when the Papal States were conquered by the new country. Within the Roman Catholic Church the Inquisition was renamed the Holy Office, becoming the official watchdog of orthodoxy. It became involved in the controversy over the liberation theology of the 1960s and '70s, ruling that while the Church fundamentally chose the poor, it could not support liberation theology's adoption of Marxist class analysis.



The Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith was renamed the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith in 2022, but it remains what it was: the arbiter of what is and is not possible within the purview of Catholic teaching. As an institution, however, it is a long way from the days of Galileo Galilei and Giordano Bruno.

Images: Getty Images, Alamy



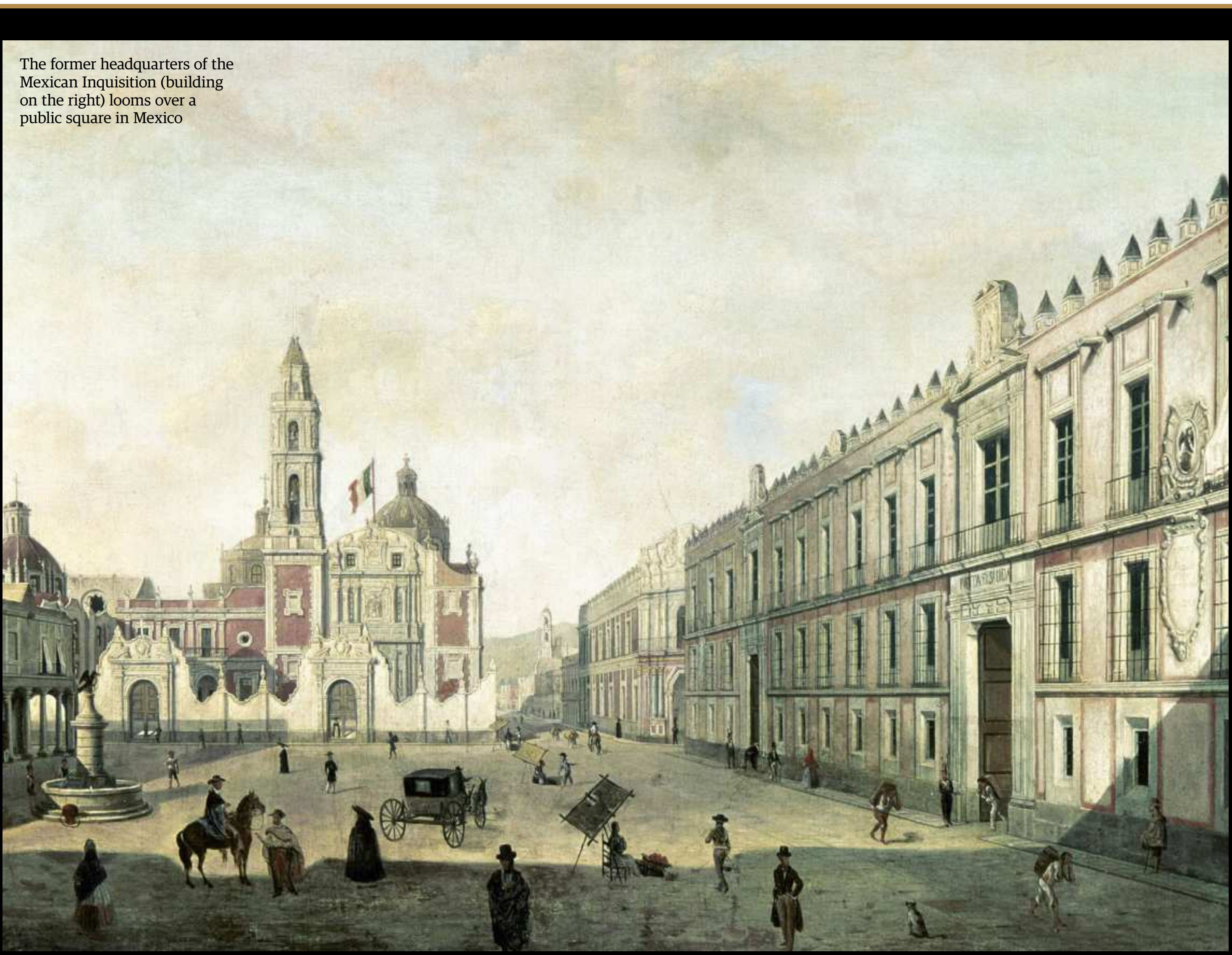
A heretic is garroted to death by agents of the Spanish Inquisition

A GLOBAL CONSPIRACY

With the New World now within its reach, the Inquisition wasted little time in unearthing heretics throughout Spain and Portugal's new territories

Written by Bee Ginger

By the time Spanish and Portuguese soldiers were landing on the beaches of the New World in the late 15th century, populations in their respective homelands had already suffered extensively at the hands of inquisitions determined to crush even the slightest hint of religious dissent. With such religious zeal bubbling away at home, spreading the reach and wrath of the inquisitions into newly conquered territories was a tragic but natural next step on the road to forcibly converting minorities to the Catholic cause. From the villages of Mexico to the jungles of Brazil and the shores of Goa, the tentacles of the Inquisition stretched far and wide, with varying degrees of devastation.



The former headquarters of the Mexican Inquisition (building on the right) looms over a public square in Mexico

MEXICO

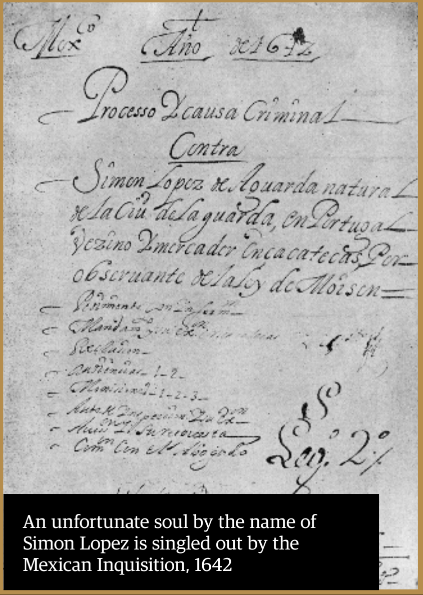
The Mexican Inquisition was orchestrated by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, established in New Spain in 1571. Initially spearheaded by an archbishop named Pedro Moya de Contreras, who founded the ominously named Tribunal of the Faith in Mexico City, the Inquisition was an extension of the draconian methods already long deployed in Spain to root out heretics and extract confessions.

Backed by the papacy, the Spanish monarchy was determined to cleanse its new territories and instil the ways of Catholicism in the natives. However, unlike other such religious campaigns, the Inquisition in Mexico was not particularly violent, with approximately 50 people (mainly those who practised Judaism) executed between 1571 and 1820, an average of less than five a year.

This was due to a myriad of reasons, one being the many similarities between native religious beliefs and practices and those of the Catholic Church, which in turn saw the Spanish afford their new subjects a degree of leniency. In response, many natives acquiesced and converted. Their sheer numbers also prevented the Spanish from utilising harsher methods.

Even so, not everybody was as easily brought into the fold. For them, certain punishments were reserved. A particularly fervent bishop by the name of Juan de Zumárraga, suspecting a baptised former Nahua lord of relapsing into his old religious ways, had his target tried and then burned at the stake.

> *"Their sheer numbers also prevented the Spanish from utilising harsher methods"*



Mex.co Año de 1642

Processo y causa Criminal

Contra

Simon Lopez de Aguarda natural
de la Ciu.d de la guarda, en Portugal
Vezino y mercader en çacatecas Por
observante de la Ley de Moisen

An unfortunate soul by the name of Simon Lopez is singled out by the Mexican Inquisition, 1642

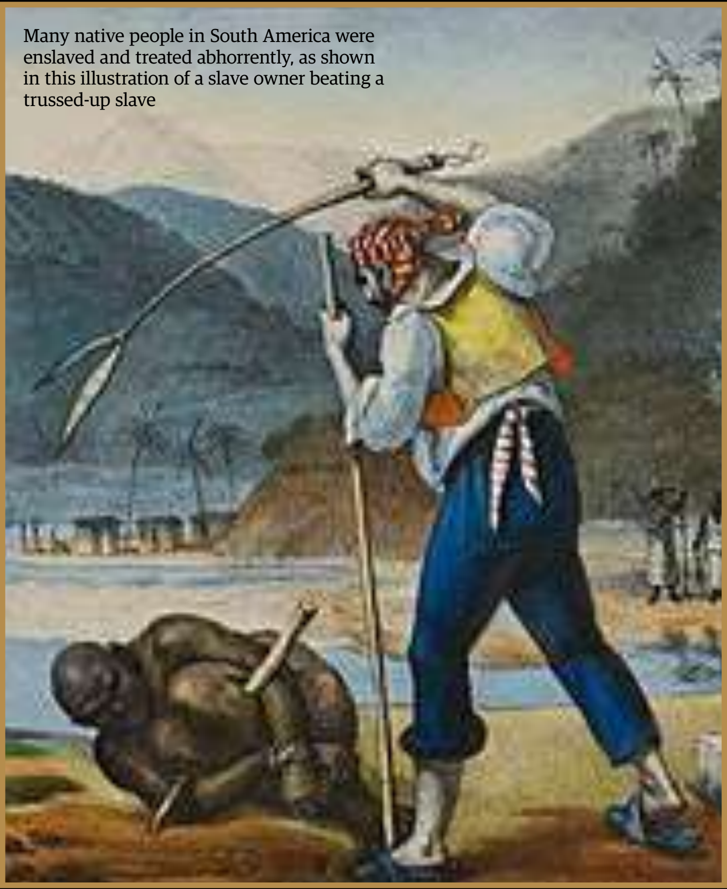
PERU

Executed from a Holy Office based in Lima, the Peruvian Inquisition relied on a variety of methods to expose Muslims, Lutherans and Jews, ranging from a series of tests used to unearth the truth about a person's religious views to clamping down on the circulation of books.

Paranoid by thoughts of Protestant ideas being disseminated throughout its precious overseas territories, the Spanish crown charged inquisitors with routinely examining ships and luggage at Peruvian ports in a bid to locate and seize any inflammatory tomes being smuggled into the New World. Further measures were taken in 1605 in the form of an order that compelled booksellers to furnish inquisitors with full inventories. People were also forced to denounce anyone they suspected of possessing books deemed heretical, including the Quran or any title that furthered the views of Martin Luther. Refusal to condemn a known rule-breaker could result in excommunication.

Yet, despite the Holy Office's zealous efforts (which extended to expunging offensive words and passages from certain books), banned books continued to circulate, their prevalence aided by the lack of money and manpower afforded to the Inquisition in Peru.

These models, housed in the Museo de la Inquisición in Peru, depict an inquisitor interrogating an unfortunate prisoner



Many native people in South America were enslaved and treated abhorrently, as shown in this illustration of a slave owner beating a trussed-up slave

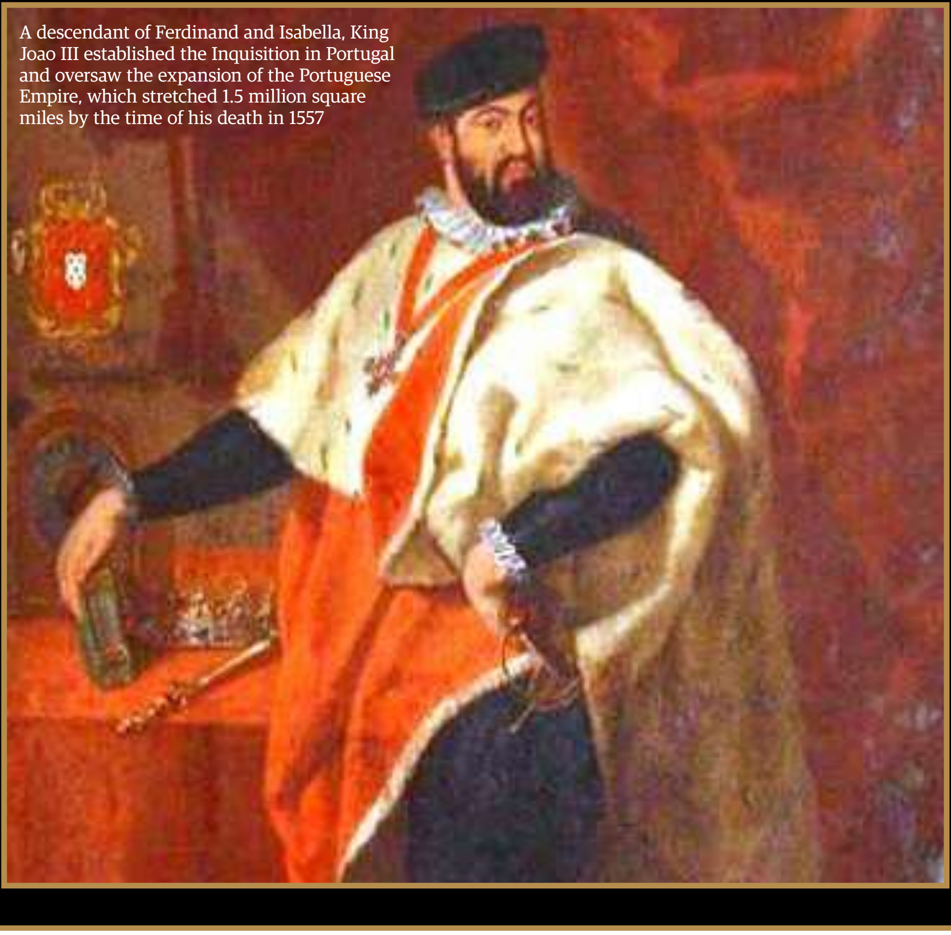
BRAZIL

Unlike its Spanish counterpart, which insisted on establishing Inquisitorial headquarters in newly conquered territories, the Portuguese Inquisition conducted in Brazil relied on a network of enforcers based in the New World who reported back to a head office located in Lisbon. However, the distance between the two was no impediment to the creation and maintenance of a thoroughly efficient machine, as explained by Aldair Carlos Rodrigues from the Department of History at the Universidade de São Paulo.

"Each diocese was split into several ecclesiastical counties, which did not necessarily coincide with civil counties. The counties, on the other hand, split into parishes, and the parishes into chapels. When the Inquisition distributed a printed edict with the objective of collecting accusations, this edict had to be read at the end of mass and then affixed on the doors of the church, remaining there until a new edict was released."

The edicts were distributed throughout the parishes by a 'cleansweep vicar'. Priests then sent the edicts out to the chapels in their jurisdiction, and once a chaplain had read it aloud, he had to sign a receipt to confirm it had been read to the congregation, sometimes even making a note of the time the edict was read.

This detailed process enabled the authorities in Lisbon to track the process of each edict and ensure that accusations of heresy were being gathered properly. It was an operation that attracted many members of the colonial elites, who wished to prove their 'blood purity' and distance themselves both morally and biologically from Jews, natives and Muslims. Navigating the Inquisition's taxing induction process provided a new recruit with said 'proof'.



A descendant of Ferdinand and Isabella, King Joao III established the Inquisition in Portugal and oversaw the expansion of the Portuguese Empire, which stretched 1.5 million square miles by the time of his death in 1557

CAPE VERDE

Records pertaining to the Portuguese Inquisition waged in Cape Verde are scarce, but the trial of an African slave-trader does afford us a brief insight. Married to the Governor of Cacheu, Crispina Peres would have been a woman of status on the small west African island nation once ruled from Lisbon. She was also an integral figure when it came to the flow of trade between Portugal and native merchants, overseeing the buying and selling of commerce and standing in as a mediator when required. Neither position afforded her much protection when she was suddenly accused of practising Paganism. One of very few indigenous people to be transported from another continent to Portugal to face trial by order of the Inquisition, Peres was ultimately labelled a poor Catholic convert (as opposed to a relapsed heretic) and ordered to publicly repent before journeying home.

> *"Neither position afforded her much protection when she was suddenly accused of practising Paganism"*

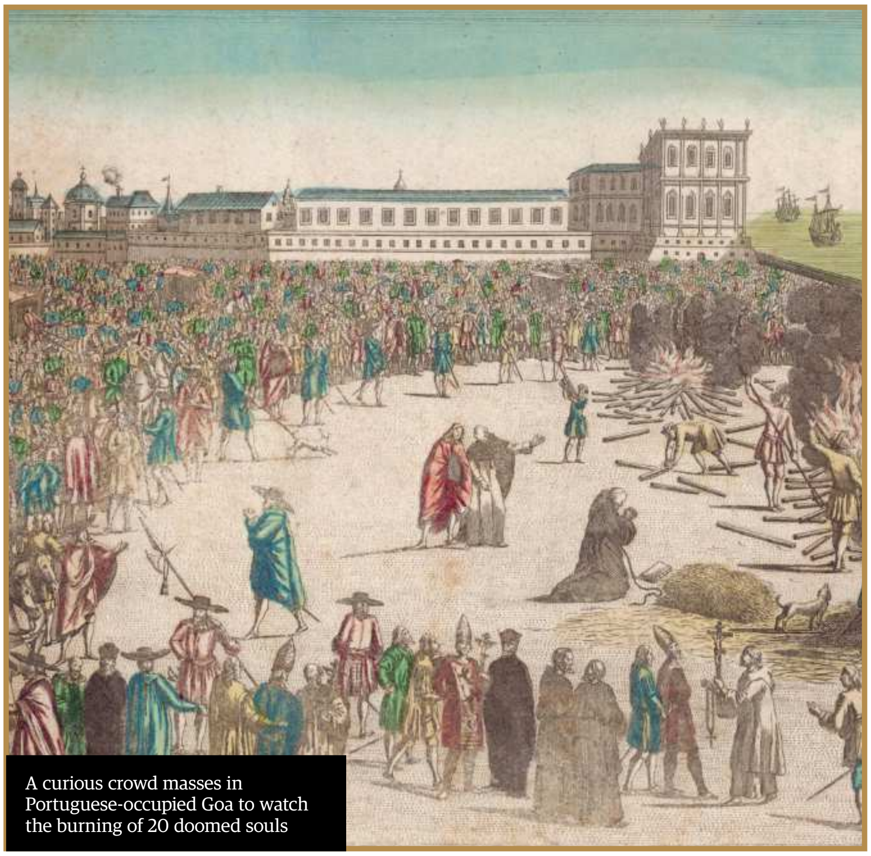
GOA

In the wake of Vasco da Gama discovering a route to India via the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal was desperate to colonise the western coast of this vast and exotic land. In order to aid this quest, Pope Nicholas V granted the Portuguese crown the authority to impose Christianity upon the local populace. Upon seizing Goa, the Portuguese swiftly started to shut down places of worship used by the local Hindu, Muslim and Jewish populace. In time, 350 temples were razed to the ground.

Forbidding any resident of Goa from practising any faith except Catholicism, the settlers confiscated religious texts and books written in various languages previously spoken in Goa. Hindus were prevented from accessing high office or testifying in court, and children were often snatched away from their parents and banned from inheriting their father's property. For those even just suspected of continuing to adhere to their original faith, barbaric punishments awaited.

Victims could be flogged, placed in a rack, have their eyeballs crushed, or be burned at the stake. On occasions when more extreme methods were deemed expedient, entire settlements were put to the torch and sometimes a parent was forced to watch as their child was burned. Only forswearing their faith and converting to Catholicism could spare the child being totally incinerated.

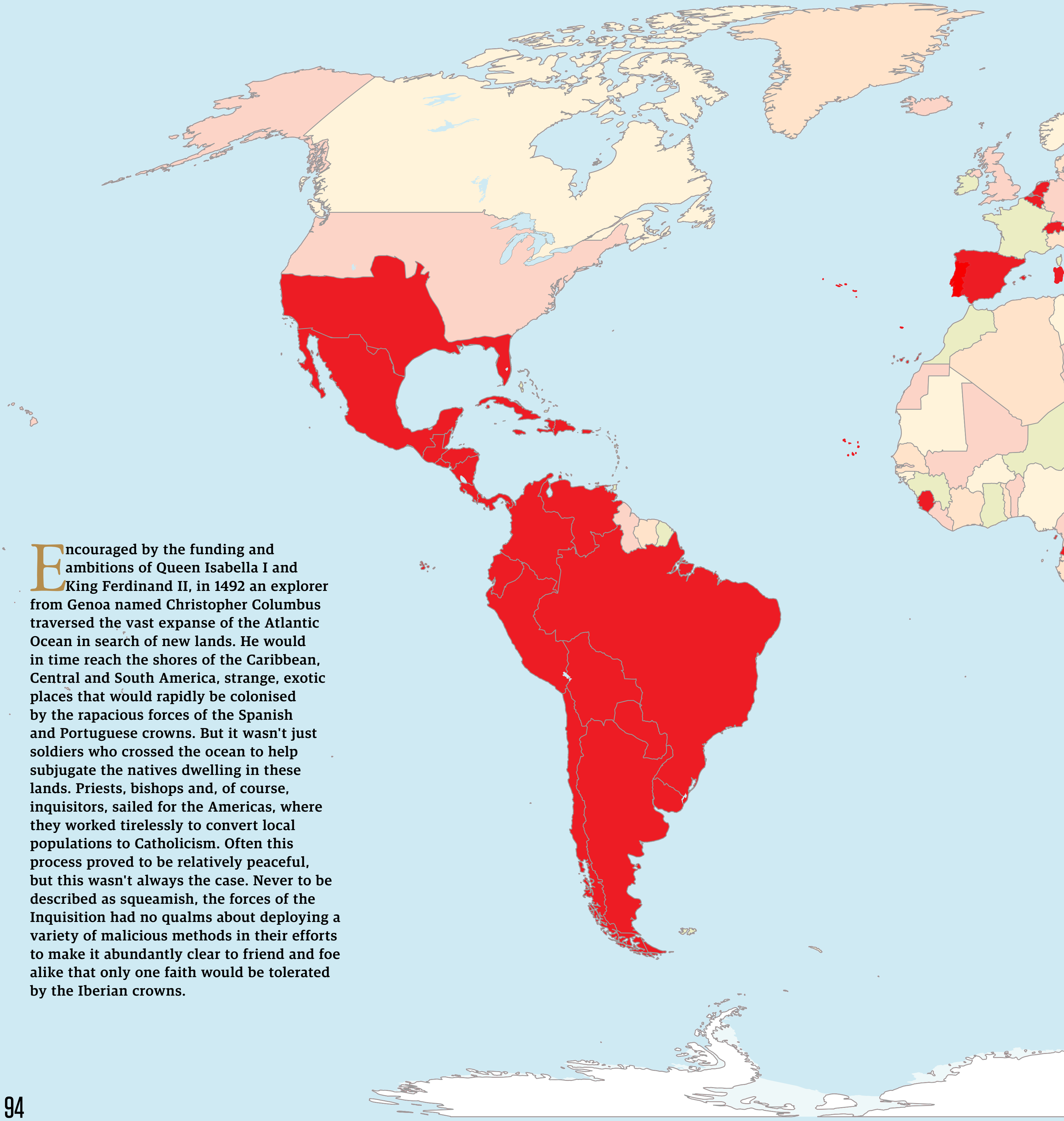
Few historians would argue that the Inquisition in Goa was not the most ruthless and bloodsoaked campaign waged by the Portuguese crown in the supposed battle against heresy.



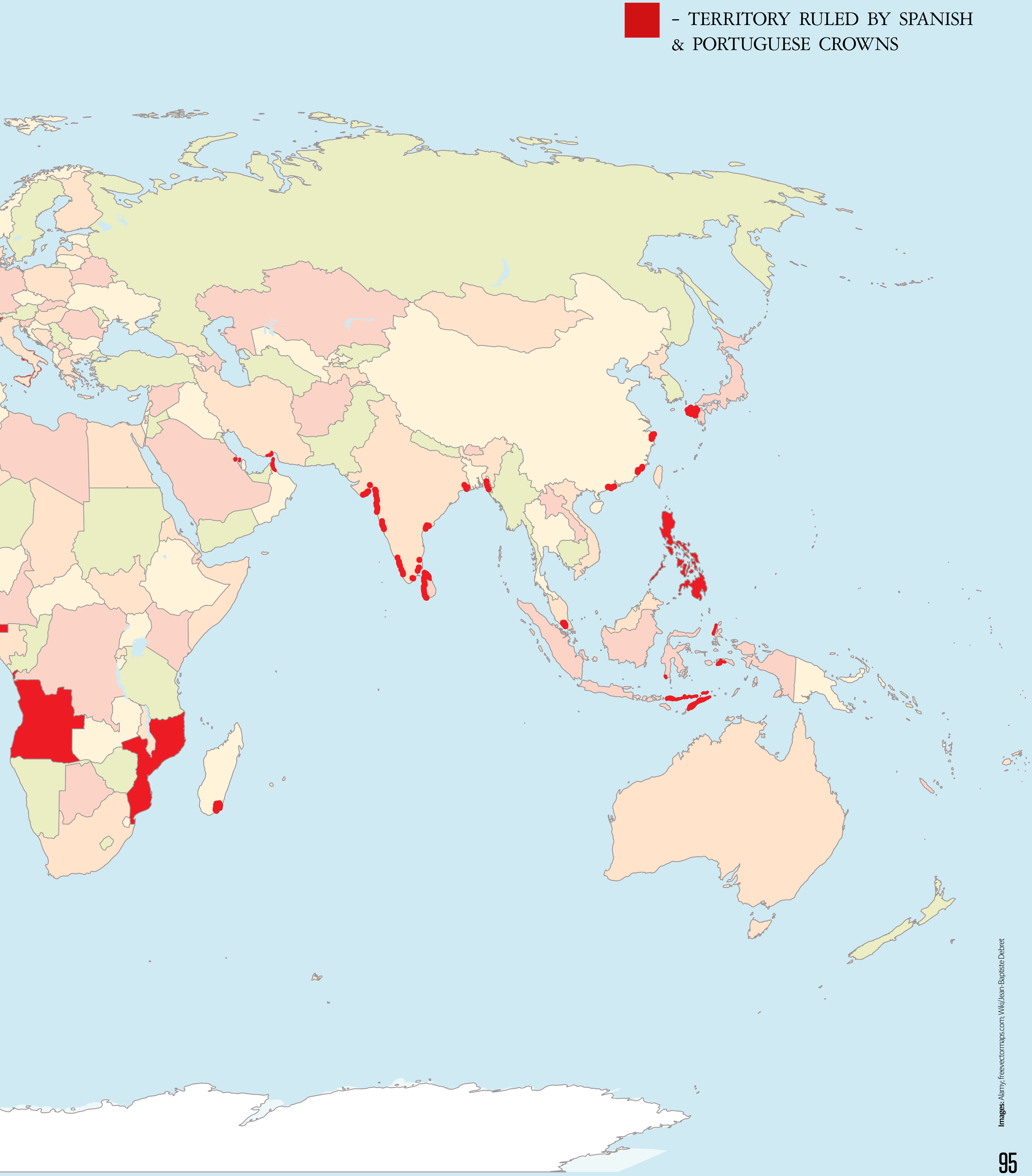
A curious crowd masses in Portuguese-occupied Goa to watch the burning of 20 doomed souls

A WORLDWIDE MISSION

The kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were determined to convert the New World to Catholicism, by any means necessary



Encouraged by the funding and ambitions of Queen Isabella I and King Ferdinand II, in 1492 an explorer from Genoa named Christopher Columbus traversed the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean in search of new lands. He would in time reach the shores of the Caribbean, Central and South America, strange, exotic places that would rapidly be colonised by the rapacious forces of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. But it wasn't just soldiers who crossed the ocean to help subjugate the natives dwelling in these lands. Priests, bishops and, of course, inquisitors, sailed for the Americas, where they worked tirelessly to convert local populations to Catholicism. Often this process proved to be relatively peaceful, but this wasn't always the case. Never to be described as squeamish, the forces of the Inquisition had no qualms about deploying a variety of malicious methods in their efforts to make it abundantly clear to friend and foe alike that only one faith would be tolerated by the Iberian crowns.


🟥 – TERRITORY RULED BY SPANISH & PORTUGUESE CROWNS

Images: Alamy; freevectormaps.com; Wiki/Jean-Baptiste Debret

BLOODY MARY ON TRIAL

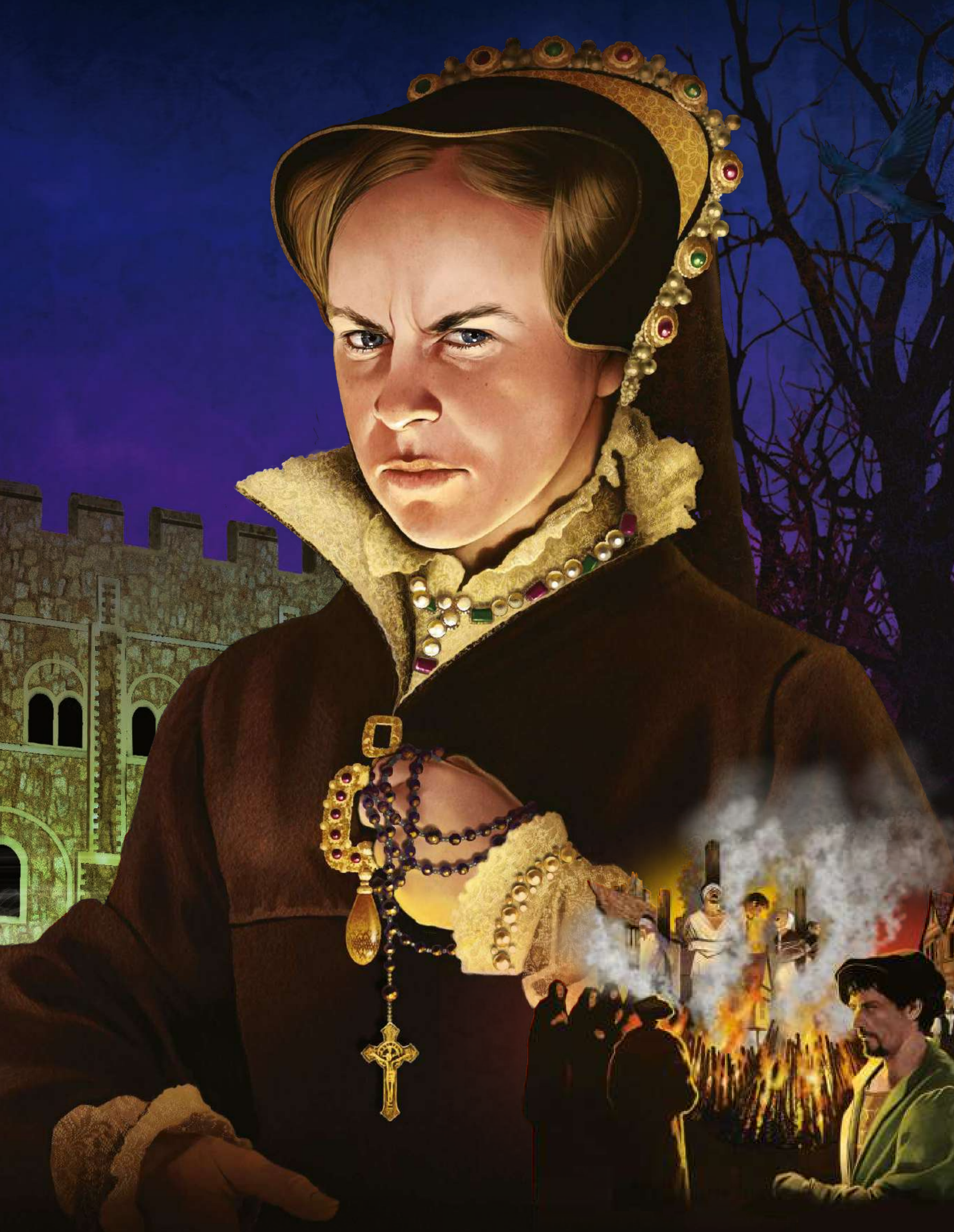
Scourge of England's Protestants, does Mary deserve her infamous title?

Written by Nicola Tallis

When a princess was born to Henry VIII and his wife Katherine of Aragon on 18 February 1516, the royal couple were overjoyed. Named Mary, she was to be the couple's only surviving child, and as such her parents doted on her. Nevertheless, she was not the male heir that her father desperately needed to succeed him - a circumstance that would prove to be pivotal not only in her life but in the life of all English citizens. However, for the first years of her life, Mary's childhood was a happy one. She was brought up surrounded by all the luxurious trappings of royalty and was given a splendid Renaissance education befitting her status. She was an able pupil and particularly excelled in languages.

In 1527, Mary's happy family life was shattered when her father loudly declared his intention to separate from her mother. He had fallen in love with one of the queen's ladies, Anne Boleyn, and Henry was certain she could give him what Katherine could not: a son. This was to be the start of the unhappiest period of Mary's life, and the effects on her would be permanent. As Henry began proceedings to have his marriage annulled in order to marry Anne, both he and his new love treated Mary with increasing unkindness.

Despite being separated from her mother, Katherine's strength gave Mary courage and, in the face of persistent bullying from the king, both mother and daughter refused to bow to his demands. They refused to acknowledge that Katherine and Henry's marriage had been invalid, making Mary illegitimate. This angered Henry greatly and caused a rift between father and daughter that was to continue for many years. On top of this, the effect that the psychological stress had on Mary was staggering: she suffered from bouts of ill health and her emotions were



in constant turmoil. Her father was unmoved by the fragile state of his daughter, and as the years passed and the annulment proceedings dragged on, life showed no signs of improving for Mary. "Few other women in the world of her rank ever lived more wretchedly," a Venetian ambassador would later remark.

In January 1533, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, who was pregnant, were secretly married. Shortly after, having endured seven years of frustration during which time the pope refused to annul his first marriage, Henry's authority as supreme head of the Church of England was formalised in parliament. In May, the king's archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, officially declared his marriage to Katherine to have been null and void: Mary was now formally disinherited. Neither Mary nor her mother accepted this pronouncement, but there was little that either of them could do.

> "'Few other women in the world of her rank ever lived so wretchedly,' a Venetian ambassador would later remark"

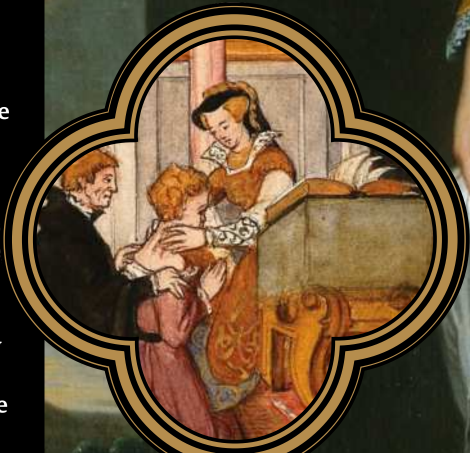
On 7 September, much to the king's disappointment, Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter. Named Elizabeth, her birth had profound consequences for the 17-year-old Mary, and the seeds of the half-sisters' turbulent relationship were sown here. Shortly after Elizabeth's birth, Mary's household was broken up and she was sent to join the household of her infant sister at Hatfield, where Anne Boleyn's aunt, Lady Shelton, supervised her. To make matters worse, on 23 March 1534, the Act of Succession was passed through parliament, legally disinheriting Mary and depriving her of the title princess. From now on she was to be referred to as the Lady Mary.

Throughout this time Mary clung to her Catholic faith, which gave her strength and brought her comfort. She was frequently plagued by ill health, yet she still refused to acknowledge Anne Boleyn as the queen of England. This caused Anne great frustration, and she ordered her aunt to "box her ears as a cursed bastard" if Mary continued to refer to herself as princess, but it did not come to that.

Worse was to come for Mary, when, on 7 January 1536, her mother died. She was distraught and fell ill shortly afterwards. Anne Boleyn was elated, but her triumph was short-lived. On the day of Katherine's funeral, Anne miscarried a child that had the appearance of being male. Like Katherine before her, Anne had failed to produce a living son, and the king's patience was exhausted. In May, Anne was executed on trumped-up charges of adultery and incest, and, like her sister before her, Elizabeth was declared illegitimate.

At the end of the month, the king married for a third time, taking as his wife one of Anne's ladies, Jane Seymour. Unlike Anne, Queen Jane was sympathetic to Mary, and through her efforts, father and daughter were reconciled. But it came at a cost: Henry demanded that Mary acknowledge him as supreme head of the Church of England and admit that her mother's marriage had been, "by God's law and man's incestuous and unlawful," making herself illegitimate.

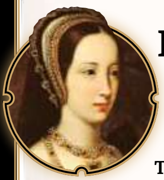
On the advice of the Spanish ambassador, Mary finally agreed to do so. She never forgave herself for what she perceived to be the betrayal of her mother, but her circumstances immediately improved. She was welcomed back to court and into her father's favour, and she soon became close to her stepmother. Furthermore, she was chosen as godmother to the longed-for son, Edward, that Queen Jane gave birth to in October 1537. Her restoration to favour, however, was only successful in personal terms, and Mary remained legally



Mary uses her 'royal touch' to cure a subject's scrofula. English monarchs were thought to possess healing powers

THERE'S SOMETHING ABOUT MARY

Get to know the other Marys in the House of Tudor

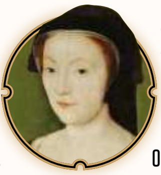


MARY TUDOR

1496–1533

STATUS: HENRY VIII'S SISTER

The first Mary Tudor was Henry VIII's younger sister, of whom he was extremely fond. It is often claimed that Henry's famous ship, Mary Rose, was named in her honour, but there is no evidence for this. Mary was the namesake of Mary I.

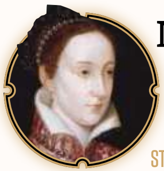


MARY OF GUISE

1515–60

STATUS: CONSORT OF JAMES V OF SCOTLAND AND REGENT

The French-born second wife of James V of Scotland was mother to Mary, Queen of Scots. Following the death of her husband six days after her daughter's birth, Mary acted as regent of Scotland on her daughter's behalf.

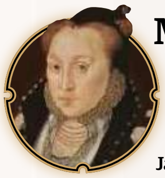


MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

1542–87

STATUS: QUEEN OF SCOTS AND MARY'S SECOND COUSIN

Mary, Queen of Scots, is arguably one of the worst monarchs ever to have ruled. She was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's elder sister, Margaret Tudor, and her husband James IV of Scotland.



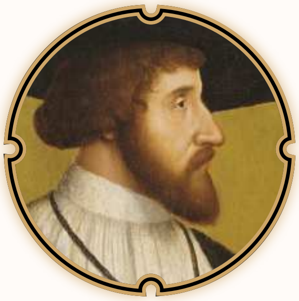
MARY GREY

C.1545–78

STATUS: THE QUEEN'S SECOND COUSIN

Mary Grey was the youngest sister of the executed Lady Jane Grey and may have been named in honour of her second cousin. Mary I treated her and her elder sister, Katherine, with kindness, but both sisters would later experience Queen Elizabeth I's wrath when they each married without royal consent.

MONARCHS WITH A TASTE FOR MURDER



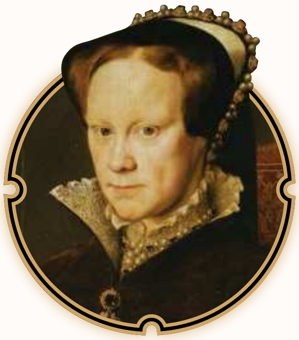
CHRISTIAN II OF DENMARK

REIGN: 1513–23

When Christian invaded Sweden in 1520, the king broke his promise of a general amnesty by ordering the execution of between 80 and 90 members of the Swedish nobility. This atrocity became known as the Stockholm Bloodbath, and Christian was later deposed.

ESTIMATED KILLS

80–90



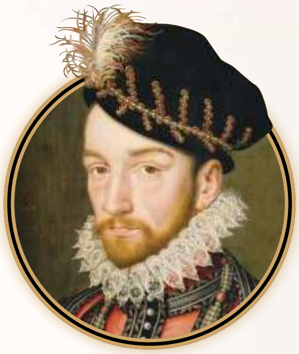
MARY I

REIGN: 1553–58

Mary's estimated kill count includes not only the 284 Protestants that were burned at the stake but also Lady Jane Grey and her supporters, as well as many of those who had joined the Wyatt Rebellion. Despite her nickname of Bloody Mary, she was by no means as ruthless as many of her fellow monarchs.

ESTIMATED KILLS

300–380



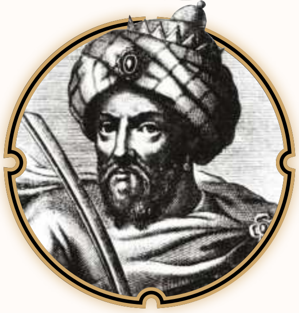
CHARLES IX OF FRANCE

REIGN: 1560–74

It was during Charles' reign that the mass murder of French Huguenots known as the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre was committed. Although estimates of the number killed vary and Charles was not responsible for all of these, he did order the murder of the leaders, which began the massacre.

ESTIMATED KILLS

2,000–30,000



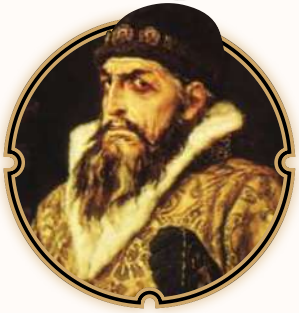
ISMAIL 'THE BLOODTHIRSTY' OF MOROCCO

REIGN: 1672–1727

Also known as the Warrior King, Ismail acquired a reputation for the torture and execution of his enemies. He also had the severed heads of up to 10,000 of his enemies displayed on the city gates of Fez as a gruesome warning to his people.

ESTIMATED KILLS

30,000



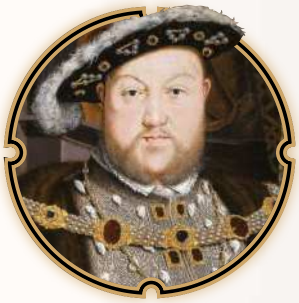
IVAN THE TERRIBLE

REIGN: 1547–84

Ivan only admitted to killing 3,750 people during his reign, but the reality was far worse. He ruled Russia with ruthlessness and even killed his own son. As a child he tortured animals and in adulthood raped and mass murdered a number of his subjects.

ESTIMATED KILLS

60,000



HENRY VIII

REIGN: 1509–47

The number of people killed during the reign of Mary's father has almost certainly been grossly exaggerated, but it is true that the king ordered the executions of a number of people close to him, including two of his wives.

ESTIMATED KILLS

57,000–72,000

MATCH-MAKING AND MATRIMONY

How Philip and Mary made it to the altar

Mary's mother, Katherine of Aragon, had always hoped that her daughter would make a Spanish match. It was a wish that Mary also cherished, but she had never met her future bridegroom, Philip, and in a similar manner to other foreign royal marriages, there was a protocol to be adhered to.

EXCHANGE PORTRAITS

In the case of foreign marriages, when it was not always possible to see your future spouse in person, it was common for portraits to be sent to your intended. In some instances this did not work out well, the most famous example being that of Mary's father and Anne of Cleves - he fell in love with her portrait but was repulsed by her in person. Mary had no such worries and was besotted with Philip's portrait by Titian.

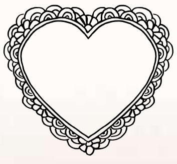
CONCLUDE NEGOTIATIONS

In January 1554, representatives of Philip's father, the Emperor Charles V, arrived in London in order to finalise the negotiations for Philip and Mary's marriage. At this time it was agreed that Philip would not be given any authority above the queen and would merely assist her in her duties as her consort.

WRITE LETTERS AND SEND GIFTS

Once the negotiations had been concluded, it was common to write letters and send lavish gifts to your intended. Philip and Mary exchanged gifts of diamonds, and Philip also presented Mary with the world-famous La Peregrina pearl.

THE WEDDING



On 25 July 1554, Philip and Mary were married in a splendid ceremony at Winchester Cathedral. It was conducted in Latin, and after the wedding the couple spent ten days honeymooning in the city, residing in luxury at Wolvesey Palace.

disinherited by her father. There is no doubt that Mary's tumultuous childhood had caused deep and permanent scars - her father would later acquire a reputation as a tyrant, and it is fair to say that Mary was one of his victims.

FIGHTING FOR HER RIGHTS

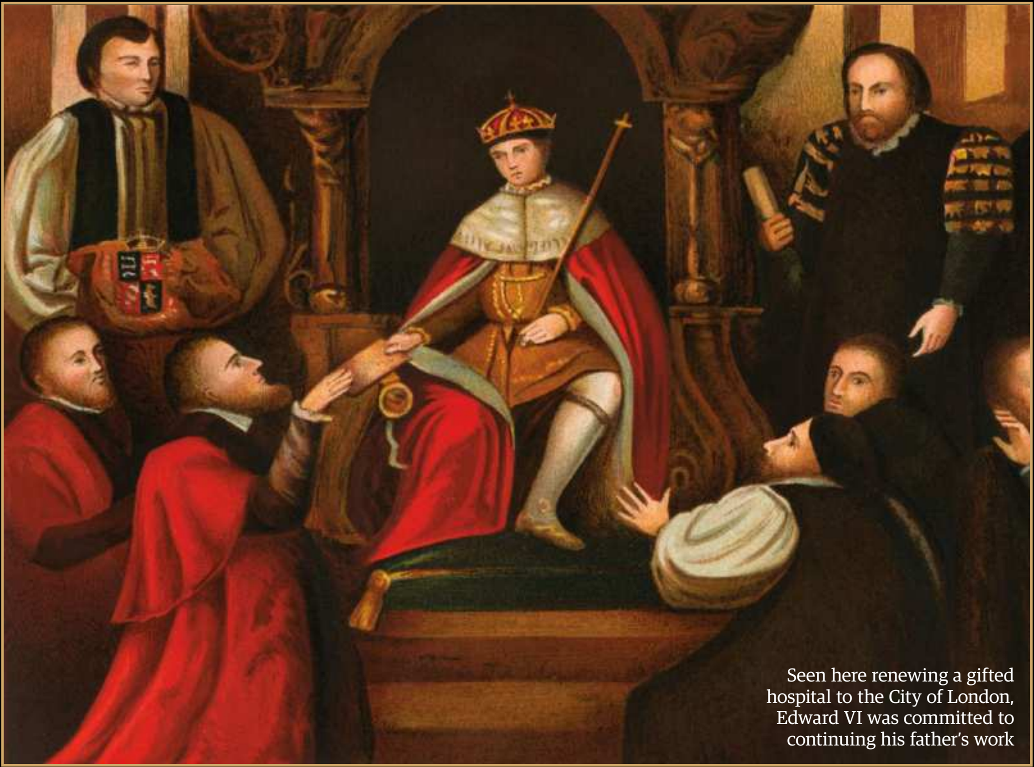
Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547 and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Edward VI. Despite his earlier treatment of his daughter, in the latter years of Henry's reign life had become more settled for Mary. She had a privileged lifestyle, and her accounts reveal that she appreciated fine food, was fond of clothes and jewels, and loved music. She also liked to ride and hunt and gambled at cards. She had enjoyed good relationships with most of her stepmothers, particularly her father's last wife, Katherine Parr. Furthermore, though both she and Elizabeth remained legally illegitimate, her father had restored them both to their place in the succession should their half-brother, Edward, die childless. Despite the fact they had both been raised as Protestants she was fond of her younger siblings and often lavished them with gifts.

But life would become increasingly difficult for Mary under Edward's rule. He was as fervently Protestant as Mary was Catholic, and he was utterly determined to ensure that his realm became a wholly Protestant nation. Mary had compromised her faith once during the reign of her father and was determined not to do so again. She steadfastly refused to conform to any other religion than Catholicism, but her defiance would ultimately cause a permanent rift in her relationship with her half-brother.

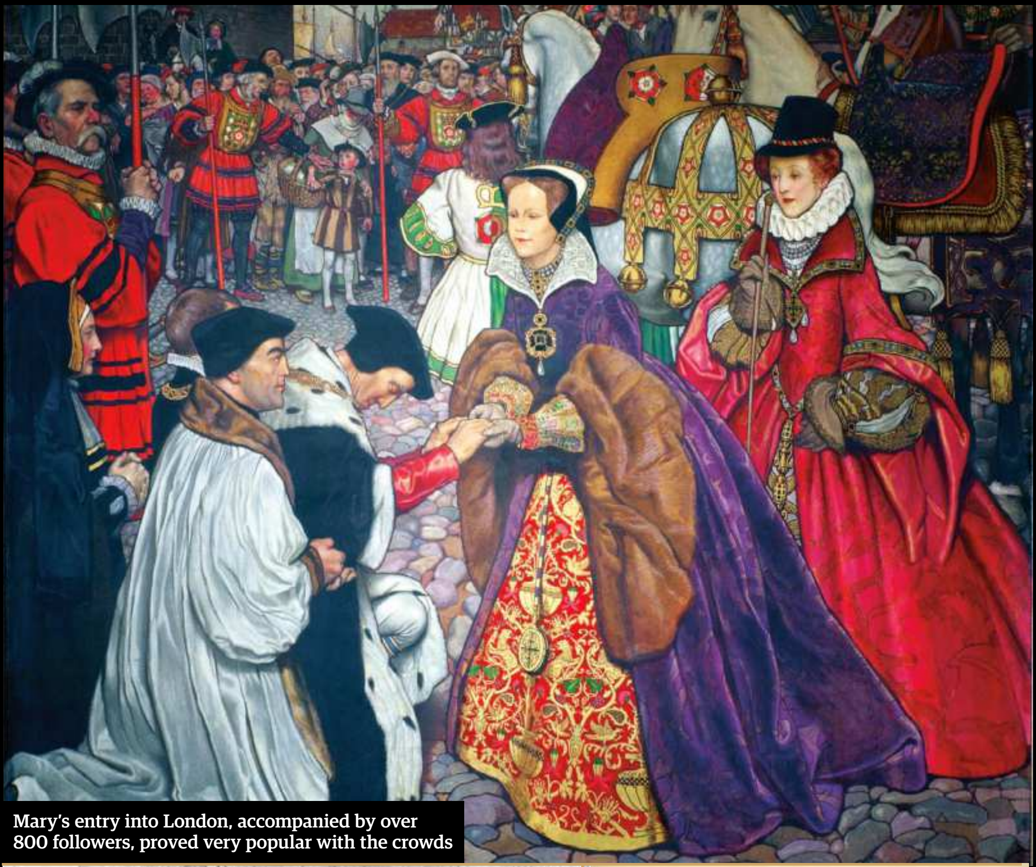
> *"Mary had compromised her faith once during the reign of her father, and was determined not to do so again"*

When the 15-year-old Edward died childless in July 1553 following a period of ill health, it was discovered that rather than honouring the terms set out in his father's will, he had named his Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey, as his heir to the throne. Once again an attempt had been made to deprive Mary of her rights.

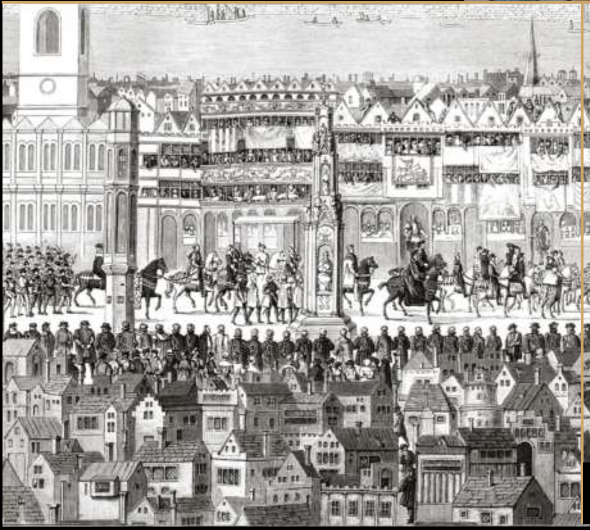
On 10 July, Lady Jane Grey was publicly proclaimed queen. Mary, meanwhile, had learned of her half-brother's death and the attempts to oust her from her place in the succession, but rather than bowing down she was determined to fight. She fled into East Anglia where she was a major landowner and incredibly popular; this proved to be a wise move. Making her way to her stronghold of Framlingham Castle, Mary was able to rally her supporters, who flocked to her banner in the coming days. Though Lady Jane Grey's

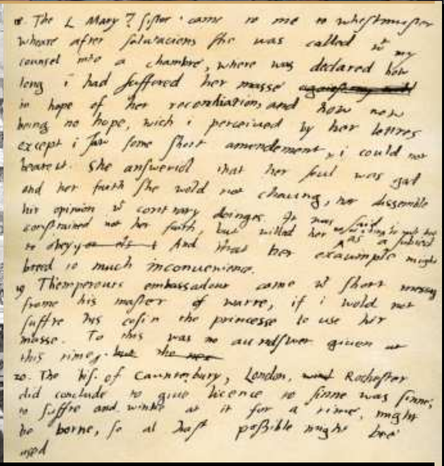


Seen here renewing a gifted hospital to the City of London, Edward VI was committed to continuing his father's work



Mary's entry into London, accompanied by over 800 followers, proved very popular with the crowds





18. The L. Mary my sister came to me to Westminster
where after salutacions she was called with my
counsel into a chambre, where was declared how
long i had suffered her masse
in hope of her reconciliation, and how now
being no hope, wich i perceived by her letters
except i saw some short amendement, i could not
beare it. She answerid that her soul was god's
and her faith she wold not chaung, nor dissemble
her opinion with contrary doings. It was said i
constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule but
to obey ~~it~~ as a subject. And that her exaumple might
breed to much inconvenience.
19. Themperours embassadour came with short message
frome his master of warre, if i wold not
suffre his cosin the princesse to use her
masse. To this was no answer given at
this time, ~~but the~~
20. The bis. of Caunterbury, London, and Rochester
did conclude to give licence to sinne was sinne;
to suffre and winke at it for a time, might
be borne, so al hast possible might be
used

An extract from Edward VI's diary about his father's attempt to change Mary's religious views

father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, set out to apprehend her, his mission proved to be fruitless. Rather than gaining support as he had hoped, Northumberland's forces began to desert him in favour of Mary. As soon as he left London, sensing the mood of the people and hearing of the increased support for Mary, the Privy Council finally decided to abandon Jane.

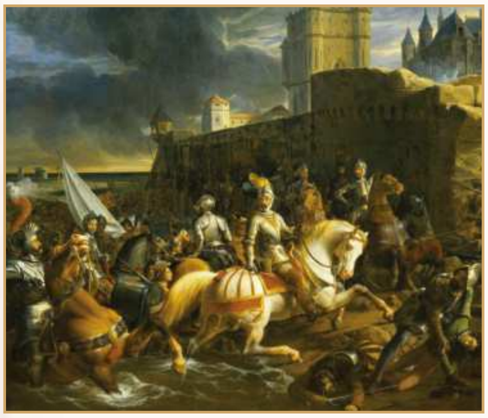
By 19 July, Mary had won the day without a drop of bloodshed: Lady Jane was deposed and Mary was proclaimed queen to the great joy of her subjects. Jane was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and, on 3 August, Mary entered London in triumph: the dark days of uncertainty and turmoil she had experienced throughout her life now appeared to be at an end, and she had at last come into her rightful inheritance.

QUEEN MARY

On 1 October, Mary's achievements seemed to be complete when she succeeded in becoming the first queen regnant of England to be crowned. A queen regnant reigning supreme in England was unprecedented, and thus Mary had no example from which to follow. This certainly later worked in her half-sister Elizabeth's favour, as she was able to learn from Mary's mistakes. Mary, however, had good reason to believe that a woman could rule successfully. Her maternal grandmother, Isabella of Castile, had been an effective monarch in her own right, and Mary's mother had always believed that her daughter could do the same.

Four days after the coronation, Mary's parliament met and passed the First Statute of Repeal. This erased all of the religious policies that had been put in place by Edward VI, for Mary was determined that England ought to be returned to the Catholic Church under the jurisdiction of the pope. At the same time she was given the opportunity to correct a wrong that had remained with her for many years: the marriage of her parents, which had been denounced by Thomas Cranmer, was declared to be valid, finally securing her own legitimacy.

In a further step to secure her position, in April 1554, parliament passed the Act for Regal Power.



THE LOSS OF CALAIS

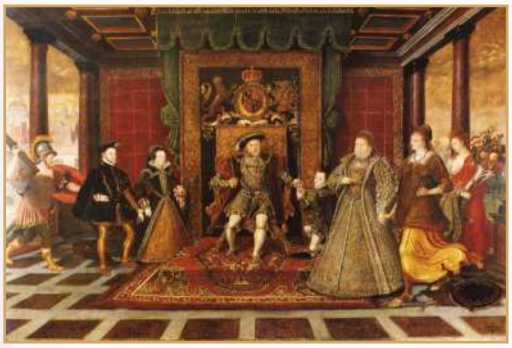
The recapture of England's last continental possession stung

With her husband Philip's encouragement, Mary finally agreed to lend English support to Spain's war against France in March 1556. It was an unpopular move and stretched the country's already strained resources to the limit. Under the leadership of the Earl of Pembroke, the English army fought well and achieved a decisive victory against the French at Saint Quentin in 1557. However, the same could not be said of the English garrison stationed at Calais, and on New Year's Day 1558, 27,000 French troops attacked the town. On 7 January it surrendered and was declared a reclaimed land.

Calais was the last English possession in France and had been in its hands since 1347 when Edward III captured the town. The loss was both disastrous and humiliating for England, and the diarist Henry Machyn recorded that it was, "… the heaviest tidings to London and to England that ever was heard of". Moreover, plans to try to regain possession came to nothing. For centuries blame for the loss of Calais has been aimed squarely at Mary. This is too simplistic a view, however, and at the time it was not seen in this way. It is therefore unfair to attribute it wholly to Mary's actions.

1553: THE YEAR OF THREE SOVEREIGNS

Henry VIII's heirs and the struggle for the throne



Early in 1553, Edward VI lay dying. The 15-year-old king was unmarried and had no children, thus thoughts turned to the succession. By the terms of the late King Henry VIII's will, passed in parliament, should Edward die childless then the throne should pass first to the king's eldest daughter, Mary, and her heirs, followed by his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, and her heirs. Both daughters had, however, been previously declared illegitimate and never formally legitimated. Moreover, Edward was determined to ensure a Protestant succession, which would be impossible should Mary succeed.

Realising he could not exclude one half-sister without also excluding the other, Edward cut both Mary and Elizabeth out of the succession by means of an extraordinary document: *My Devise For The Succession.* In this, Edward named his second cousin, the Protestant Lady Jane Grey, as his heir. Jane had already been named as the next heir by Henry VIII should his children die childless, but at the stroke of a pen she superseded both of the king's daughters. There was no time for Edward to pass his *Devise* through parliament, so when he died on 6 July 1553, the *Devise* was illegal.

This consolidated the queen's power "as fully and absolutely" as it had been for any of Mary's male predecessors: despite her sex, her authority was to be on a level with theirs.

Though Mary was queen in her own right, it never occurred to her that she would rule alone. From her infancy she had been primed for marriage, and it had always been anticipated that she would marry abroad. She had been briefly betrothed to her cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, when she was only six years old, but the negotiations had come to nothing. Almost immediately after her accession, therefore, thoughts of matrimony began to occupy not only Mary's mind but those of her councillors too.

Though various candidates were suggested, the most popular being Mary's English cousin, Edward Courtenay, in Mary's mind the decision had already been made. She declared her intention to wed her second cousin, Philip of Spain. He was the son of the emperor and was 11 years Mary's junior. He was an attractive prospect to Mary because of his Spanish heritage and his familial links with her mother, but she was naïve if she thought that her decision would be accepted without protest: her personal wishes overruled her political judgement.

REBELLION, DEATH AND IMPRISONMENT

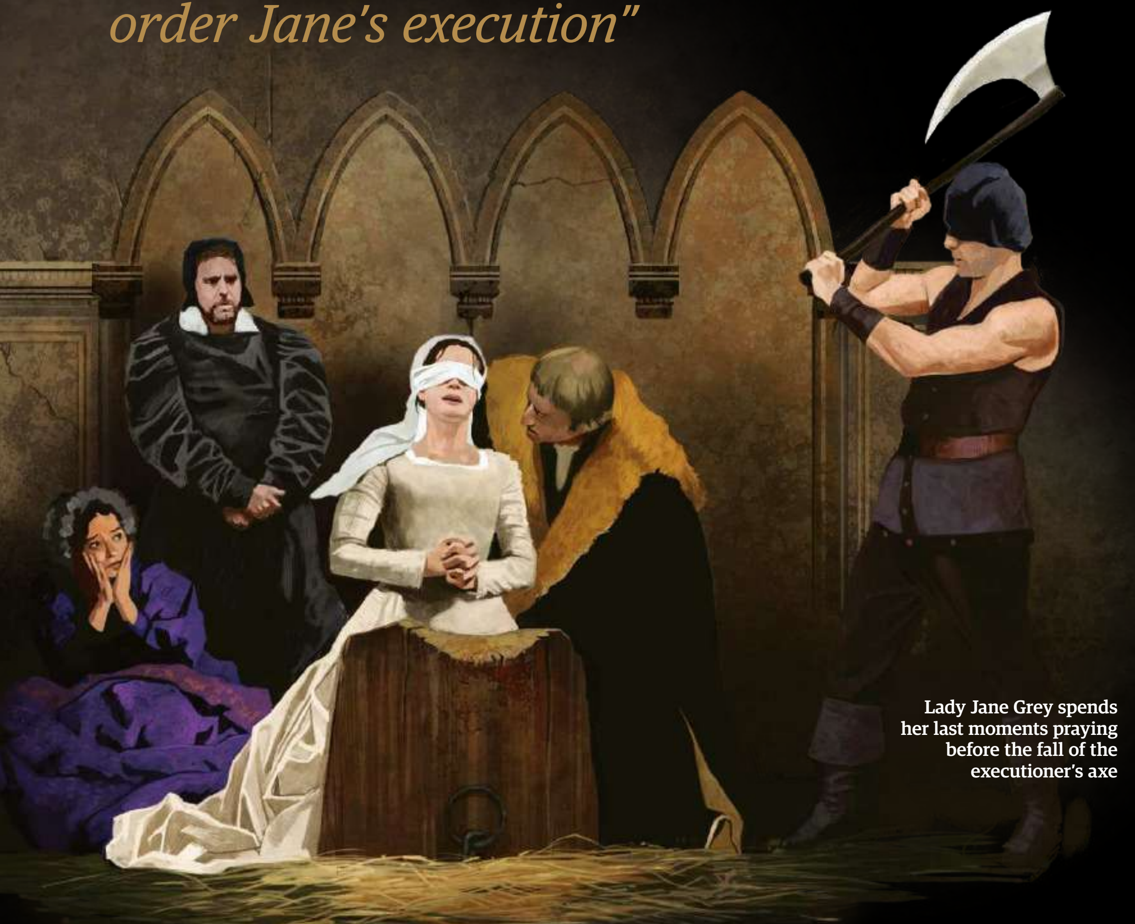
The idea of a Spanish marriage was unpopular in England, but the queen was blind to the concerns of her subjects. Not only was Philip a Catholic, he was also a foreigner; the English were suspicious of foreigners, and it was greatly feared that Philip would try to embroil England in Spain's wars. Unknown to Mary, there were those in the country who were determined to protest against the marriage, and a plot was afoot that would test the loyalty of her subjects and threatened to undo everything she had fought for.

Under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman, a rebellion was planned that sought not only to prevent Mary's marriage to Philip but also to deprive Mary of her throne. Instead, she would be replaced with her Protestant half-sister, Elizabeth, who almost certainly had some prior knowledge of the plot. More crucially, one of the key conspirators was Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey who had been incarcerated in the Tower since Mary's accession. Upon learning of the rebellion, Mary took matters into her own hands. Standing in front of her subjects at London's Guildhall, she beseeched her people to stand firm against the traitor Wyatt and his followers and to remain true to their anointed sovereign. Her powerful words had the desired effect, and Mary's people remained loyal to their queen. The rebellion was a washout and Wyatt and his followers were captured. Mary had been victorious once again.

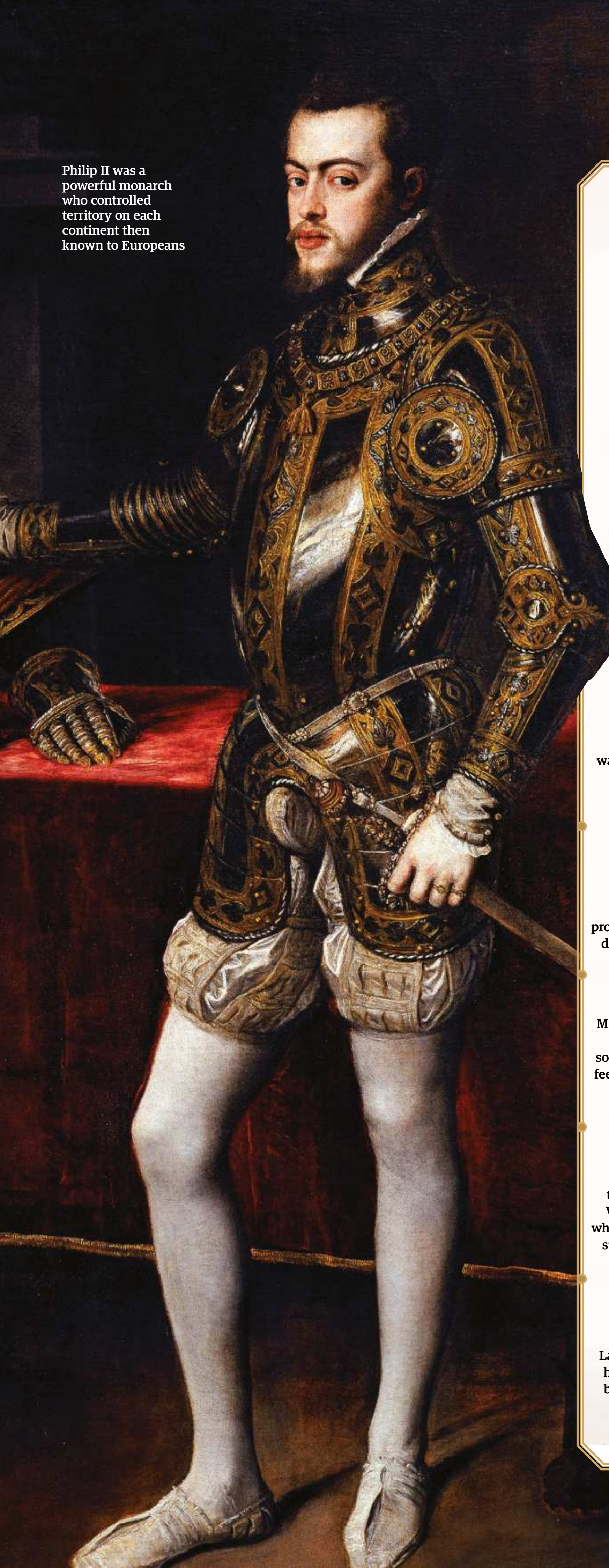
The failure of the Wyatt Rebellion had disastrous consequences for Lady Jane Grey, and her father's involvement sealed her fate. Mary's hand was now forced, and under enormous pressure from her advisers she had no choice but to order Jane's execution. Mary agonised over the decision and tried to find a way around it, but there was none. On 12 February 1554, 17-year-old Jane was executed.

It was not just Jane who was to suffer as a result of Wyatt's treason. Before long, Mary's officers had arrived at Elizabeth's door in order to summon her to London for questioning over her role in the rebellion. Pleading ill health, upon her arrival in the capital Elizabeth had the curtains of her litter drawn back so that the citizens could witness the

> *"Under enormous pressure from her advisers she had no choice but to order Jane's execution"*



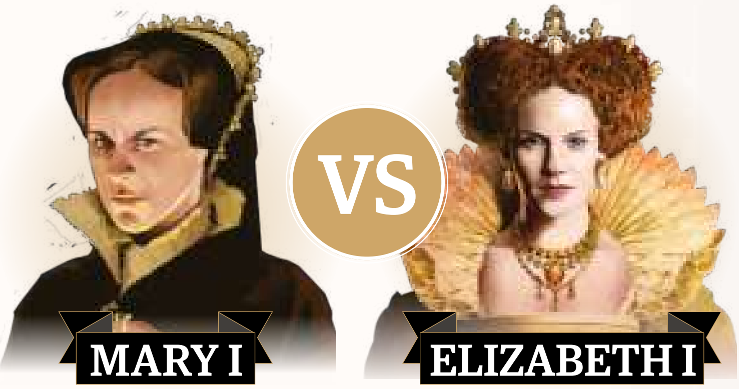
Lady Jane Grey spends her last moments praying before the fall of the executioner's axe



Philip II was a powerful monarch who controlled territory on each continent then known to Europeans

SISTER ACT

Mary I and Elizabeth I: just how similar were the two Tudor queens?



LENGTH OF REIGN

5 YEARS	45 YEARS

INTELLIGENCE

Both Mary and her half-sister were given an excellent education. Though her abilities as a scholar were never exclaimed as highly as Elizabeth's, Mary was an intelligent woman. A contemporary observed that, "…she is skilled in five languages," speaking four fluently.	Elizabeth was highly praised for her intellect, and her tutors were unanimously impressed with her. She took great pleasure in showcasing her skills by translating work into various languages and presenting it as gifts, notably to her father and Katherine Parr.

POPULARITY

LOVED IN HER LIFETIME At the time of Mary's accession, she was so popular that many remarked on the commotion in London when her proclamation was read out. However, by her death her popularity had long since faded.	**STILL LOVED TODAY** Although Mary had initially been popular, this was nothing in comparison to Elizabeth. In addition, Elizabeth had the common touch that her sister lacked and was able to retain the love of her people.

LOVE

UNHAPPILY MARRIED Mary was deeply in love with her husband, Philip of Spain, and always felt great sorrow when he left England. Although her feelings were not reciprocated, Philip did at least treat his wife with courtesy.	**THE VIRGIN QUEEN** Elizabeth never married, and the closest she came to love was with her friend Robert Dudley. Rumours circulated,but it seems likely that, by her death, Elizabeth was still the 'Virgin Queen'.

MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS

LOST CALAIS Mary succeeded in asserting her right to the throne following the death of Edward VI, raising a large army of supporters. But when England declared war on France early success was followed by the loss of Calais.	**DEFEATED THE SPANISH ARMADA** The most famous victory of Elizabeth's reign was the defeat of the Spanish Armada, sent by Mary's former husband, Philip, in 1588. After this she was hailed as the saviour of the English people.

KILLINGS

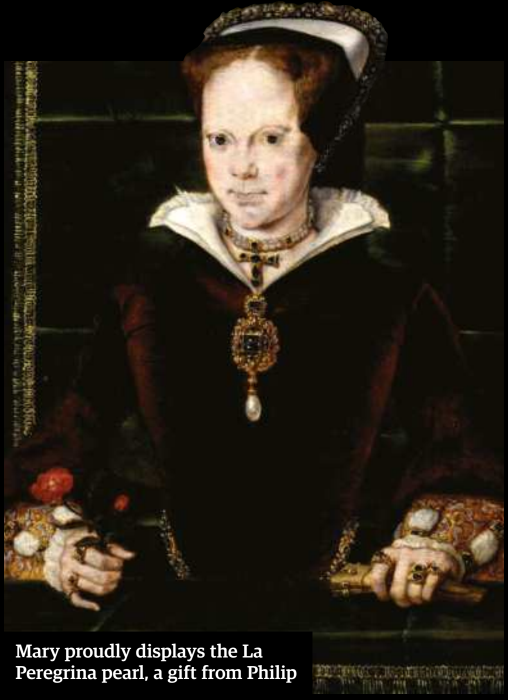
300–380 Not only did Mary order the execution of Lady Jane Grey and many of those close to her, she also sentenced 284 Protestants to be burned at the stake, including the man who had annulled her parents' marriage, Thomas Cranmer.	**200+** Although Elizabeth did not burn Catholics in the way Mary had Protestants, she did order the disembowelment of more than 200. She also famously ordered the execution of another anointed queen, Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587.

pitiful state she was in. Dressed in white, she made a startling impression against the blood-red livery of her guards. It was a clever ploy, one designed to move the citizens to sympathy on Elizabeth's behalf, and it worked. It was precisely the type of display that Queen Mary had hoped to avoid.

Taken to the Palace of Whitehall for questioning, evidence against Elizabeth was not forthcoming. Convinced of her complicity in the rebellion, however, Mary was hopeful that a spell in the Tower of London would break her sibling's resolve and expose her claims of innocence to be lies.

Though Elizabeth protested that she was Mary's "most faithful subject", Mary was unmoved, and in March her half-sister was imprisoned. She remained there until May, when a lack of evidence forced Mary to release her. This was not the end of the matter, however, and Elizabeth was sent to Woodstock under house arrest, where she remained for nearly a year. Mary never trusted Elizabeth again and was always suspicious of her.

The Wyatt Rebellion did not prevent plans for Mary's marriage, and in July 1554 Philip landed in England. That same month, the two were married in a magnificent ceremony at Winchester Cathedral. For Mary, the marriage was the fulfilment of all of her hopes, for she loved her new husband dearly. However, her feelings were unrequited and though Philip treated Mary with courtesy, the marriage was based on politics. Nevertheless, by the autumn Mary believed that she was pregnant, and proudly announced her happy news. Yet despite showing many signs of pregnancy, by June 1555 it became clear that there was no baby. It was the first of two phantom pregnancies she would suffer, dashing all of her hopes for a Catholic heir to succeed her. To make matters worse, Philip, the husband she loved so dearly, abandoned her on both occasions, leaving England for the last time in 1557. Mary was alone.


Mary proudly displays the La Peregrina pearl, a gift from Philip

PROTESTANT BURNINGS

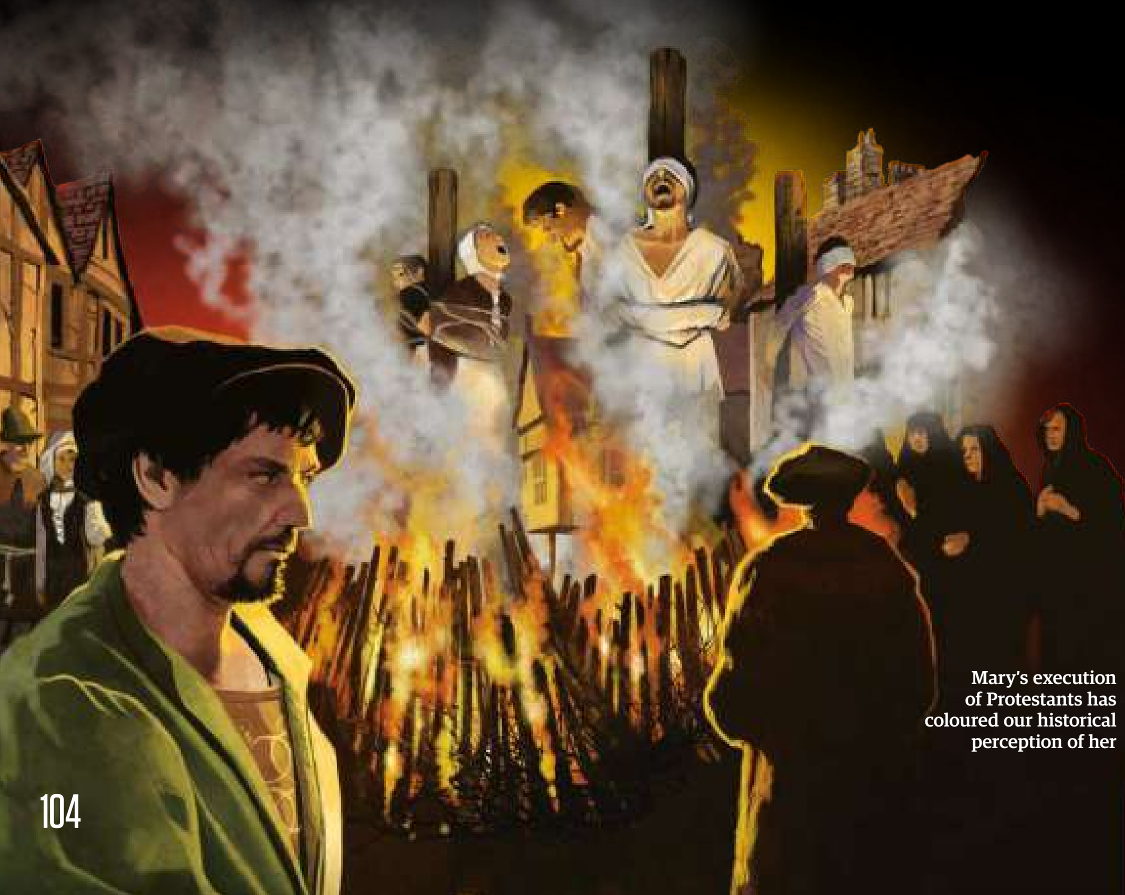
Shortly after Mary's succession, she began to take steps to restore the old religion to her land, and it was not long before it became clear that those who adhered to Protestantism were not safe. Many fled abroad to avoid persecution, but for some this was simply not an option, and they were forced to pay the ultimate price for their beliefs.

In February 1555, the first burnings of Mary's reign began: a total of 284 Protestants were burned, 56 of whom were women. During the reign of Elizabeth, the historian William Camden would write that Mary's, "…days have been ill spoken of, by reason of the barbarous cruelty of the Bishops, who with a most sad spectacle, in all places polluted England by burning Protestants alive". It is interesting to note that Camden did not attribute the blame for the atrocities directly to Mary but rather her advisers.

Much of the tarnish on Mary's reputation, however, has come from the martyrologist John Foxe. His *Acts and Monuments* highlighted the suffering of the victims and became the most widely read book written in English after the Bible: it damned Mary's reputation.

Burning was the rarest form of Tudor punishment, and executions like these were designed to shock people into conforming. In some cases it worked: Thomas Cranmer, former archbishop of Canterbury, recanted his beliefs six times. In spite of this, Mary insisted that he must burn. She still bore a deep grudge for the role he had played in the unhappiness of her early life, but his death was one of her greatest mistakes. Had he been spared, his recantation would have served as excellent propaganda for the new regime, but dead he was a martyr. Cranmer was burned on 21 March 1556 at Oxford.

> *"The former archbishop of Canterbury recanted his beliefs six times. In spite of this, Mary insisted that he must burn"*

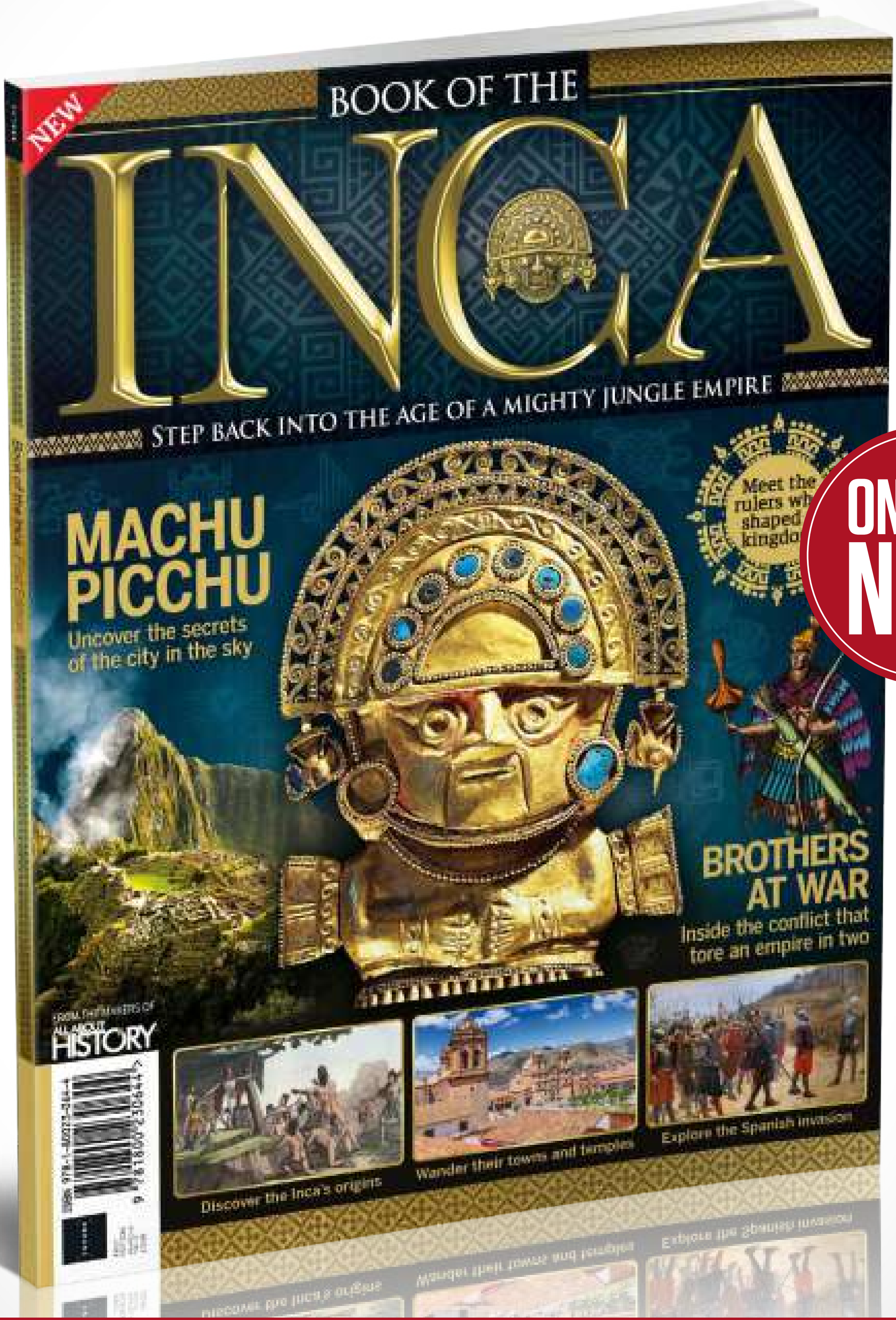

Mary's execution of Protestants has coloured our historical perception of her

DEATH AND LEGACY

In November 1558, Mary lay dying. Her husband was far away, and she was childless and estranged from her half-sister. Though she could not bring herself to say her name, Mary had accepted that 25-year-old Elizabeth would succeed her. On 17 November, Mary died at Saint James' Palace, and Elizabeth's succession was greeted with the wave of popular enthusiasm that had greeted Mary just five years earlier. Though Mary undoubtedly made mistakes, notably the imprisonment of Elizabeth and the burning of Cranmer, she also had strengths. She had survived the many adversities that had been placed in her path since childhood and had ultimately triumphed over her enemies on many occasions. As queen she had asserted her authority as the first female monarch to reign supreme. With no template to work from, however, it was easy for Elizabeth to capitalise on her mistakes. Furthermore, had it not been for Foxe's dramatic work, she would not have earned the nickname Bloody Mary, and she may have been remembered with greater sympathy.

EXPLORE THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF THE INCA EMPIRE

From the origins of its people to the rulers who shaped it and the wars that destroyed it, unearth the story of South America's greatest kingdom.



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1618-1648

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The death throes of the Holy Roman Emperor's authority initiated the ultimate battle for religious freedom, ensnaring Europe and costing millions of lives

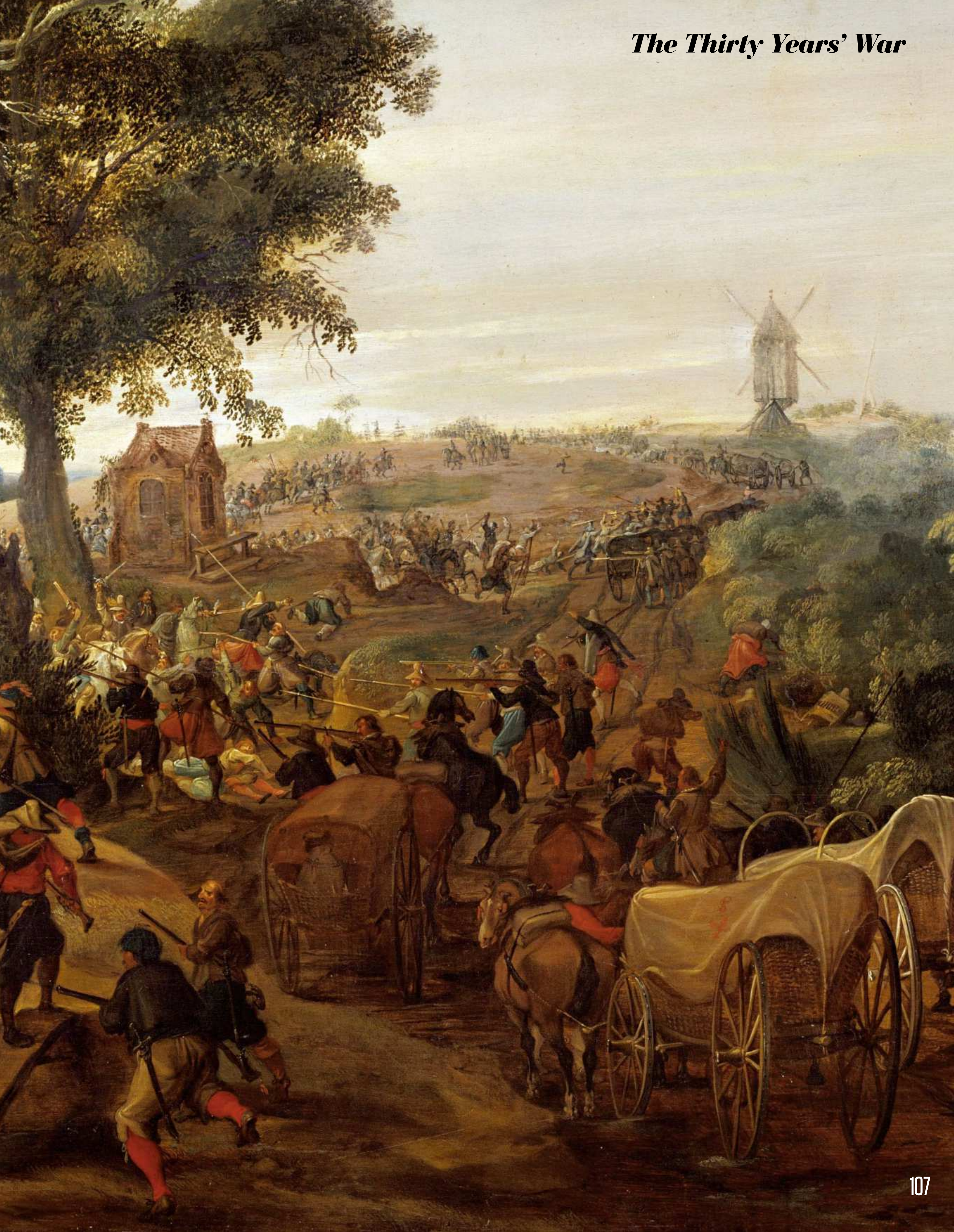
Written by James Horton

At the beginning of the 17th century Europe was poised for war. The Kingdom of Spain was intent on conquering the northern Netherlands, and France was determined to stop it. Both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire – which primarily covered modern-day Germany – were being ruled by members of the formidable House of Habsburg. The Kingdom of France was ruled by a rival dynasty and found itself sandwiched between Habsburg Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. France watched Spain's army with a suspicious eye, resolving to stop it from advancing on the Netherlands and gaining yet more territory near France's own border.

As well as the territorial struggles between kingdoms, religiosity added another layer of friction to the situation in Europe. Since the Reformation in 1517, Protestantism and its two major sub-religions, Lutheranism and Calvinism, had spread throughout the continent. The surge of Protestants had fractured relationships both between countries and within their own borders. Italy, Spain, France, Poland, Hungary and others maintained traditional Catholicism as their state religion. Meanwhile, England, Denmark, Sweden and the northern Netherlands had converted to Protestantism. Yet within national borders the semi-independent regions practised conflicting Christian religions to that of the state.

Nowhere was this so hotly contested than in the Holy Roman Empire. The six German princes who served and elected the emperor (alongside the Elector of Bohemia) were evenly divided between Catholicism and Protestantism. In fact, the divisions had grown so deep that the princes had split into opposing forces named the Protestant Union and the Catholic League. The reigning Emperor Matthias and his chosen successor, Archduke Ferdinand II, did not appreciate the growing threat of the Protestants and plotted to oppress their religious freedoms. So while Europe was watching France, Spain and the Netherlands nervously, expectant of an impending war, they were caught by surprise when conflict broke out not to the west but in Prague, the violence sparked by an angry mob hurling some imperial advisors out of a window in an event that became known as the Defenestration of Prague.

As Matthias' successor, Ferdinand was set to inherit the Kingdom of Bohemia, which sat roughly on the modern Czech Republic-Slovakia border. Aware of Ferdinand's radical Catholic policies, the population – which included a

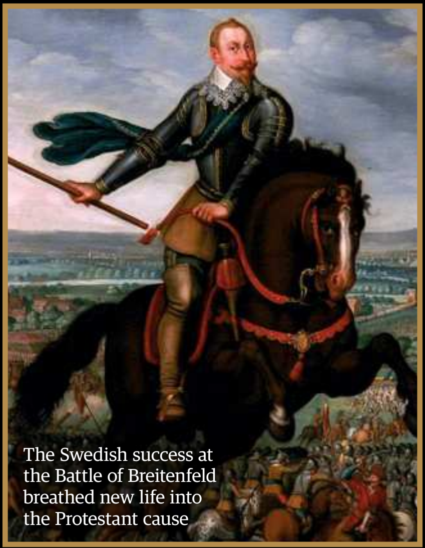


GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

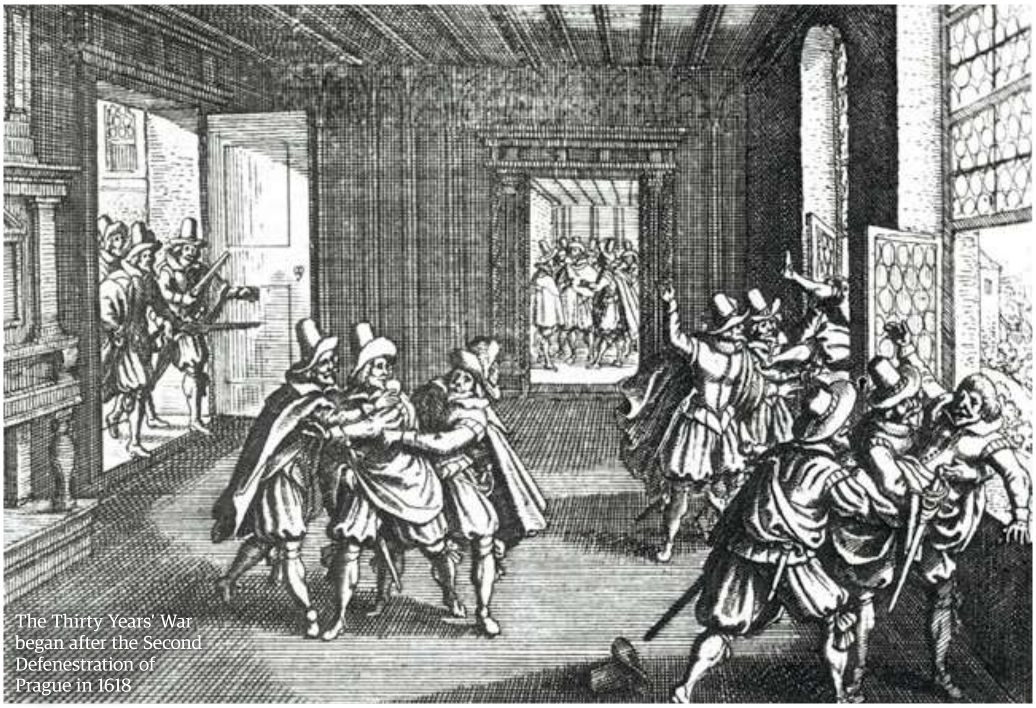
The Swedish king earned the title of Father of Modern Warfare for his military innovations and exploits

Gustav II Adolf – known to history as Gustavus Adolphus – ascended to the Swedish throne in 1611. Gustavus inherited a poor country and an even poorer army, but he swiftly morphed his peasant farmer conscripts into one of Europe's most elite fighting forces. Aware that his cavalry was a weakness, he reorganised his army to maximise the firepower of his infantry and artillery. He packed his frontline full of musketeers and drilled them to alternate their volleys for maximum firing efficiency. Each infantry regiment was additionally equipped with a small, mobile artillery battery that could be moved with the men across the battlefield as required. Gustavus also placed musketeers among his cavalry ranks, where they'd drive off enemy charges with point-blank volleys.

Adolphus hardened his professional army in the Polish-Swedish war of 1626-1629 and received border security and an economic boon from the resulting peace treaty. This left him well prepared to enter the Thirty Years' War with Emperor Ferdinand and the Catholic League, and he used his veteran troops and innovative tactics to reverse the fortunes of the Protestant cause in Germany. After winning multiple major battles, he met his death at the Battle of Lützen in 1632 while fighting on the frontline with his men. Legend says that when an enemy soldier placed a firearm to the wounded king's temple and asked him his name, he accepted his fate with the final words, "I was the King of Sweden."



The Swedish success at the Battle of Breitenfeld breathed new life into the Protestant cause



The Thirty Years' War began after the Second Defenestration of Prague in 1618

> *"The Spanish wasted little time in establishing their foothold in Frederick's Palatinate region"*

mixture of Catholics and Protestants – sought assurances in 1618 that they should be granted the right to continue practising whichever religion they saw fit. Their impending new king and emperor-elect agreed to sign the Letter of Majesty confirming this right, which it was hoped would assuage the masses and prevent rioting.

The imperial governors soon proved themselves disingenuous, however, at first preventing Bohemian villagers from erecting Protestant churches and then imprisoning them for attempting to do so. The populace was quickly united in its dismay and resolved to cast off the yolk of the House of Habsburg.

The angry citizenry fell on the capital of Prague, and an overly eager contingent decided that murdering Matthias' agents was the best way to send their message to the emperor. They ascended the stairway to their offices and tossed their victims kicking and screaming out of the window. Despite falling around 20 metres, all three men survived, although whether their salvation was owed to divine intervention (as the Catholics later jubilantly claimed) or their fortuitous landing in soft dung is lost to history. Either way the men retreated, leaving the Protestants to seize power and declare their independence in the following days. The rebellion had begun.

What came next would prove pivotal for the future of Europe. Alone and without leadership, Bohemia stood little chance of maintaining its freedom, so it made efforts to woo Protestant lords into taking the kingship. The Elector Palatine and German Prince Frederick V was one such man. As a Protestant he was sympathetic to the Bohemians' plight and was no supporter of the Catholic emperor-elect Ferdinand. Frederick decided to accept the offer and made for Prague towards the end of 1619, just after Emperor Matthias had finally succumbed to illness.

Frederick's court had hoped that with him championing the Protestant cause in the face of Ferdinand's impending coronation, the other European Protestant leaders would heed his rallying cry. Disappointingly, the other nations initially offered very little support, and even the German Protestant Union met his pleas with reluctance. But the new king was not alone. A local Bohemian leader named Thurn had conscripted men and raised an army; the prince Bethlen Gábor of Transylvania would soon pledge his support; and the Duke of Savoy offered to divide the costs of equipping a professional mercenary army. This new force was placed under the command of Ernst von Mansfeld, who wasted little time in successfully besieging Pilsen on behalf of Frederick.

As had been planned, Archduke Ferdinand was elected emperor on 28 August 1619, and one of his first acts upon his ascension was to award the leader of the Catholic League – the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian – a significant sum and Frederick's stripped electoral title to lead an invasion of Bohemia on his behalf. Meanwhile, the Spanish wasted little time in establishing their foothold in Frederick's abandoned Palatinate region. Their army invaded in a surprise attack, and before long they had besieged Mainz and established themselves in the crucial territory, positioning themselves to invade the Protestant Netherlands at any moment.

Maximilian's forces, under the command of one Count Tilly, entered Bohemia on 26 September 1620. Ernst von Mansfeld, whose troops had not been paid by Frederick for some time, were reluctant to march to their employer's aid and instead waited patiently at Pilsen for a new contract. This left Thurn's forces, reinforced by contingents of Hungarians, to face Count Tilly's and the imperial forces at White Hill on 8 November just outside the Bohemian capital of Prague. The conscripted Bohemians proved no match for their imperial counterparts and rapidly dissolved after seeing their mounted vanguard retreat. In the wake of his defeat Frederick fled the capital that night. Maximilian occupied Prague and promptly sent word of his victory to the emperor.

Frederick's coup may have been unsuccessful, but his fateful decision to abandon the Palatinate had opened the door to the House of Habsburg's broad ambition to invade the Netherlands. The exiled king also helped to prolong the war by refusing to renounce his claim on Bohemia. He managed to inspire new followers to raise forces on his behalf, but these were ruthlessly defeated by Count Tilly before they could merge into a credible threat.

Although Maximilian's army under Tilly was proving invaluable for Emperor Ferdinand, he was unhappy at being so reliant on the Catholic League. Fortunately for him, a man named Albrecht von Wallenstein offered a way out of his predicament. Wallenstein was a minor noble who had amassed significant wealth through marriage to a wealthy widow, a woman who had left her fortune to him upon her death. But he had also garnered acclaim as a commander, and Ferdinand requested that he raise and lead an army in his name. Wallenstein accepted his offer and wasted little time in first cutting off and then defeating Mansfeld at Dessau Bridge (today located in eastern Germany) before sending the commander fleeing south. The now old and fatigued general succumbed to illness in the following weeks, ending the hopes of Frederick's forces in the field.

Pouring fuel onto an already raging fire, Denmark had decided to join the war in 1625 under King Christian IV. The Danish monarch feared that his rival Sweden would take up the Protestant fight and eventually claim dominion over the entire Balkan Sea, so he determined to beat them to it. While Wallenstein was chasing Mansfeld, Christian's forces were engaged in a cat-and-mouse chase with Tilly. The King of Denmark found himself outmanoeuvred by the Bavarian commander and was forced to give battle as he

LEFT These crosses in Prague's Old Town Square represent the 27 rebellious ringleaders executed by Ferdinand's forces after the city was retaken

INSET A talented general who won many battles, Tilly's legacy was tarnished by the Sack of Magdeburg

BELOW Matthias' governors miraculously survived the fall of 20 metres from the top window attempted a retreat. The Danish forces had more cannons than their adversaries but failed to make good use of them, and after the infantry made contact, Tilly's cavalry managed to outflank Christian's men on both sides, obliterating them in a pincer movement.

Christian fled northward with his shattered army as Wallenstein returned triumphant from harrying Mansfeld. He joined forces with Tilly but refused to play the role of his subordinate. The two Catholic armies moved in pursuit, entered the northern Danish-held duchy of Holstein and overran it. Wallenstein was awarded the title of Duke of Mecklenburg for his trouble, much to Tilly and Maximilian's chagrin.

Nearly a decade after the Thirty Years' War had begun, the Protestants had yet to win any major encounters. But the tide was soon to change. Wallenstein had his eyes set on the port town of Stralsund (in northeast Germany), which he set to besieging in July 1628. Stralsund was well guarded by a force of 5,000 mercenaries, levies and citizens and reinforced by Sweden during the siege, marking the kingdom's entry into the war. The weather also conspired against Wallenstein, the arrival of heavy rains washing away his dreams of seizing the city, his men unable to launch an effective assault in the deluge.

Sweden's entry into the maelstrom came at a fortunate time for the Protestants, as Christian and his 6,000 troops were about to be beaten once again, this time by Wallenstein. Upon his defeat the Danish king was forced to sign the lenient Peace of Lübeck, which left him with all his titles provided that he remained neutral for the rest of the war.

With the Catholic forces riding high, Emperor Ferdinand decided that 1629 was an excellent time to enact the Edict of Restitution. This text was an aggressive move against Protestants within the empire, as it forbade them from governing over Catholic lands. The Protestant German princes were disgusted by this affront to liberty. They called for a diet to discuss the edict, which was held in Regensburg in 1630. Ferdinand was adamant that the edict remain but he paid for it dearly, as the princes demanded that Wallenstein be stripped of his command and the imperial army be mostly dissolved. Such was Ferdinand's iron resolve when it came to restricting religious freedoms that he agreed to these draconian terms.

The Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus had political as well as religious motives to enter the war. He was a Protestant, but more pressingly he feared that the House of Habsburg would help the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth push their claim on the Swedish throne, a mortal threat to his own personal wellbeing. He resolved to seize the initiative and swiftly established a foothold on the German side of the Balkans, signing the Treaty of Stettin at the end of summer 1630 in order to gain formal control of Pomerania, which bordered the sea.

Although not yet prepared to engage in actual combat, France agreed to send funds to support the Swedish war effort. This sudden influx of wealth saw Adolphus' army swell to over 36,000.

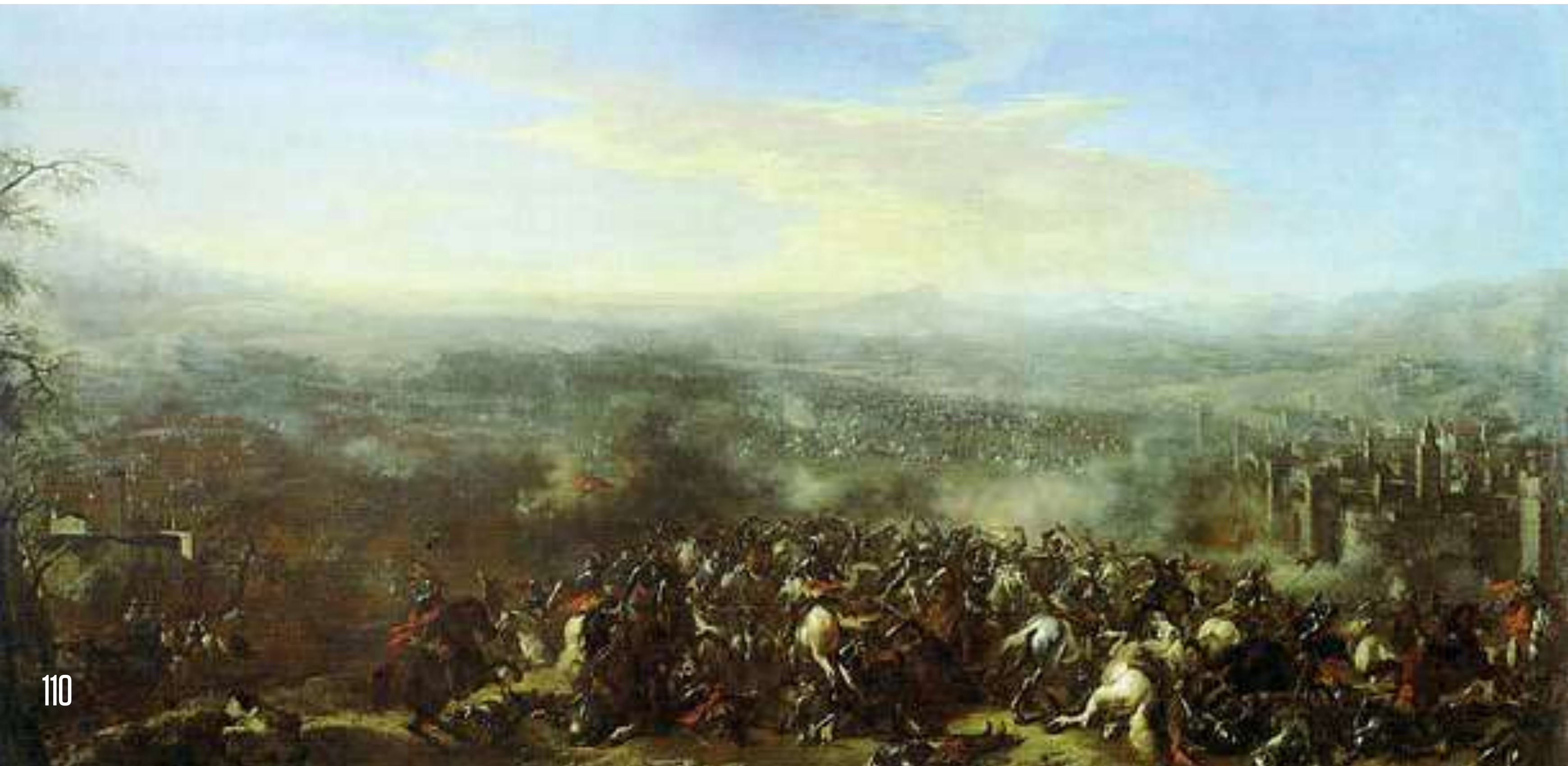
For their part, the German Protestants were unsure of how to react to Sweden's intervention. They weren't happy with Emperor Ferdinand's new edict, but neither were they pleased about the presence of a foreign 'liberator', who they saw simply as an invader. Then, on 20 May 1631, Tilly inadvertently helped his enemies to put aside their differences when he ordered the brutal Sack of Magdeburg.

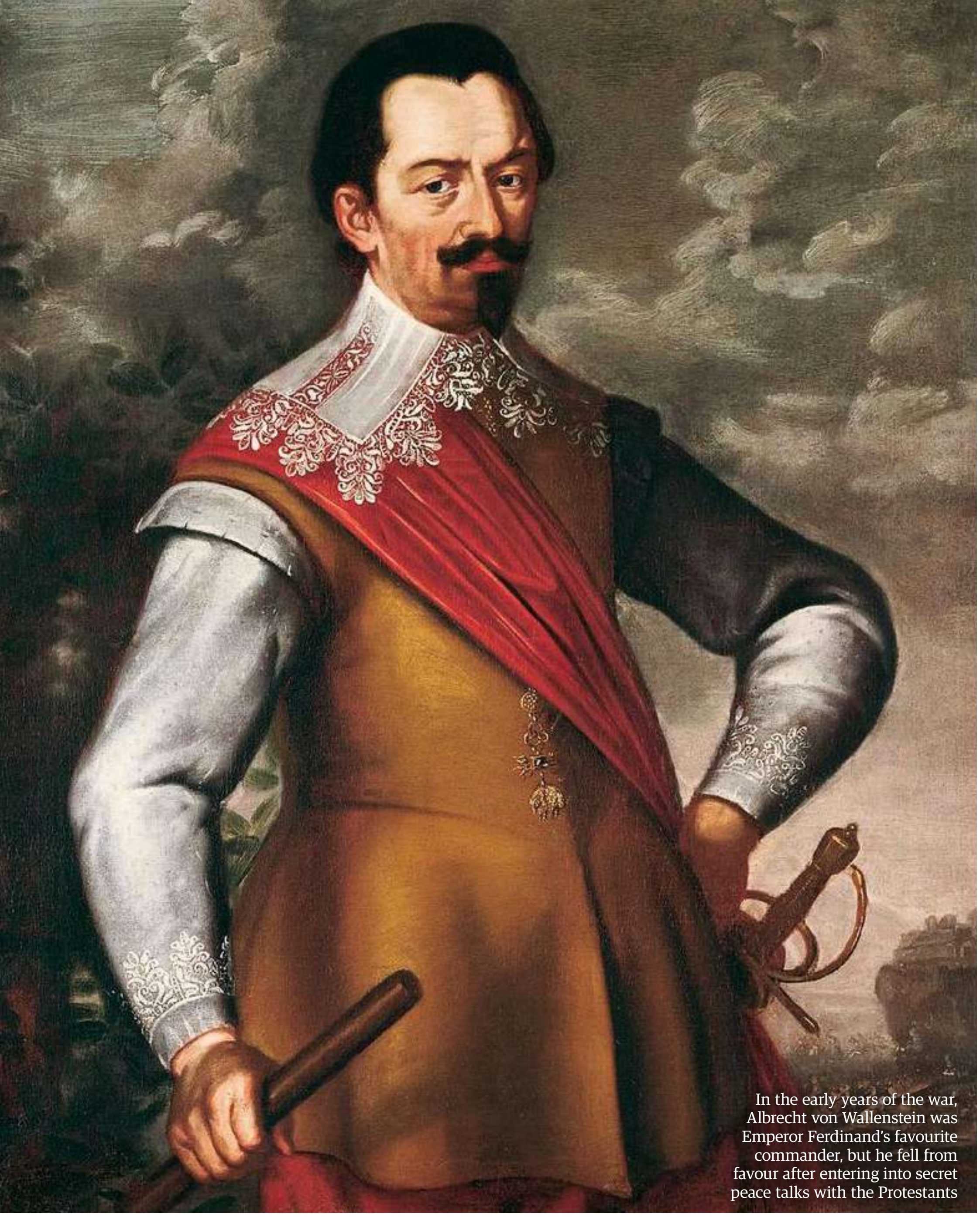
Over four days his troops rampaged throughout the city, ruthlessly cutting soldiers and civilians down and torching buildings. Appalled by such wanton cruelty, Protestants and moderates across Europe came together in their outrage, a move that ultimately encouraged the Protestant German princes to combine their forces with the Swedish, thereby inflating their joint army to approximately 60,000 men.

Despite his inferior numbers of approximately 35,000 soldiers, Tilly eagerly met the Swedish-German forces near the village of Breitenfeld (north of Leipzig). The Swedes and allied Germans arranged themselves separately, with the Germans occupying the left flank. Wary of the skilled Swedish soldiers, Tilly sent most of his men to engage the Germans, essentially ignoring the Swedish line. His plan was initially successful, as the Protestant Germans crumbled under the imperial advance. However, the professional Swedish army swiftly wheeled around to face Tilly's forces and moved forwards to engage them with confidence.

Meanwhile, Adolphus personally led a daring charge to capture Tilly's artillery and set it firing on the imperial lines. Sweden's own artillery was

> *"Wary of the skilled Swedish soldiers, Tilly sent most of his men to engage the Germans"*





In the early years of the war, Albrecht von Wallenstein was Emperor Ferdinand's favourite commander, but he fell from favour after entering into secret peace talks with the Protestants

dragged onto the other flank, and soon a hail of cannonballs and musket fire was raining down on the pinned imperial forces, causing devastating losses. Tilly had been resoundingly defeated.

The Protestants followed up this monumental success by capturing Frankfurt, Mainz and Heidelberg before the end of 1631, while one of the Protestant German generals also successfully invaded Bohemia and recaptured Prague.

When the campaigning season resumed in the spring of 1632, Adolphus vigorously pursued Tilly and found his army entrenched near the city of Rain (in modern-day Bavaria). A river separated Adolphus from the opposing army, but his talent as a shrewd tactician enabled him to exploit the terrain to his advantage.

Adolphus used a decoy force to trick Tilly into thinking he was making a straight crossing while simultaneously crossing other contingents at two separate points along the river. The plan was a success, and Tilly was mortally wounded by a cannonball in the fighting. It was another Swedish victory and another crushing defeat for imperial forces, who were now without a loyal standing army in the empire.

As the Spanish forces were still engaged in the Netherlands, the emperor had little choice but to call on Wallenstein. The veteran accepted his summons, raised an army in a matter of weeks and by May 1632 had liberated Prague from the Protestants. He then moved west with 32,000 men to face the Swedes, absorbing the remnants of Tilly's army as he moved to engage. Adolphus and Wallenstein first met at Nuremberg, but their decisive encounter would take place at Lützen in November 1632.

By the winter of 1632, Wallenstein had already sent some of his men into winter quarters, confident the Swedish would make no further movements so late in the year. Having withdrawn to Lützen to see out the coldest months, Wallenstein reinforced his position with trenches and placed his artillery in strong defensive positions. Protected by his 16,000 remaining troops, the town represented a formidable obstacle. But Adolphus was not to be deterred.

THE BATTLE OF ROCROI

Duke d'Enghien's crowning glory

Duke d'Enghien was a young French noble of just 21 years on 19 May 1643. He had just received news that the King of France had died from an illness, but his bigger concern was the 18,000 Spanish infantry and 8,000 cavalrymen that stood between him and the town of Rocroi. The French and Spanish forces had lined up in the pre-dawn gloom, and d'Enghien signalled the advance at sunrise.

The Spanish commander, Melo, had placed a contingent of musketeers in a strip of woodland to cover his left flank. These were easily ousted, and d'Enghien attacked the now unguarded flank while his infantrymen engaged the centre and charged the enemy's right. D'Enghien routed his opposition but noticed the other flank's charge had been repulsed and the centre was struggling. The young commander sent some of his troops in pursuit of the defeated enemy while he himself led a bold charge against the centre. His horse crashed through the leading Spanish line and into the novice German, Italian and Walloon troops. These men quickly withdrew, allowing d'Enghien to smash into Melo's right flank.

Realising he was being enveloped, Melo fled. His veteran infantry fought on despite being abandoned by their commander, but their cause was hopeless. Spain's military had been decapitated. The road to peace had opened.

Relying on the element of surprise, the Swedish commander marched his forces towards Lützen, intent on taking the town. However, his efforts at deception were rendered futile when word reached Wallenstein of the Swedish advance. Fearful that Lützen would fall into Swedish hands, Wallenstein ordered that the town be set ablaze. He then arranged his cavalry into a defensive concave shape and retained his elite musketeers in reserve to reinforce as necessary.

The two sides entered combat, and Wallenstein's artillery quickly began to inflict heavy losses on the Swedes. Adolphus could see that his right flank was wavering, so he personally led a charge to reinforce it. The burning of Lützen had rendered visibility low as smoke filled the air, and Adolphus was soon lost in the melee. Separated from his men, he received a gunshot wound, as did his horse. Struggling to control it, he rode into enemy lines, where he was shot again, this time fatally.

News of Adolphus' demise rippled through the Protestant ranks, causing them to lose heart and withdraw by mid-afternoon. But their new commander, Prince Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, brought up the reserve and urged the men onwards. The Swedish were ultimately triumphant, but theirs was to be a Pyrrhic victory; they had suffered approximately 10,000 losses compared to the enemy's 12,000 and their industrious and inventive king now lay dead on the battlefield.

Sweden was bruised by the loss Adolphus, but it had not lost its resolve. In 1633 it entered a formal alliance with the French and Protestant German princes as part of the Heilbronn League. At first Sweden remained the dominant military partner in this arrangement, but this dynamic would change after the Battle of Nördlingen in September 1634.

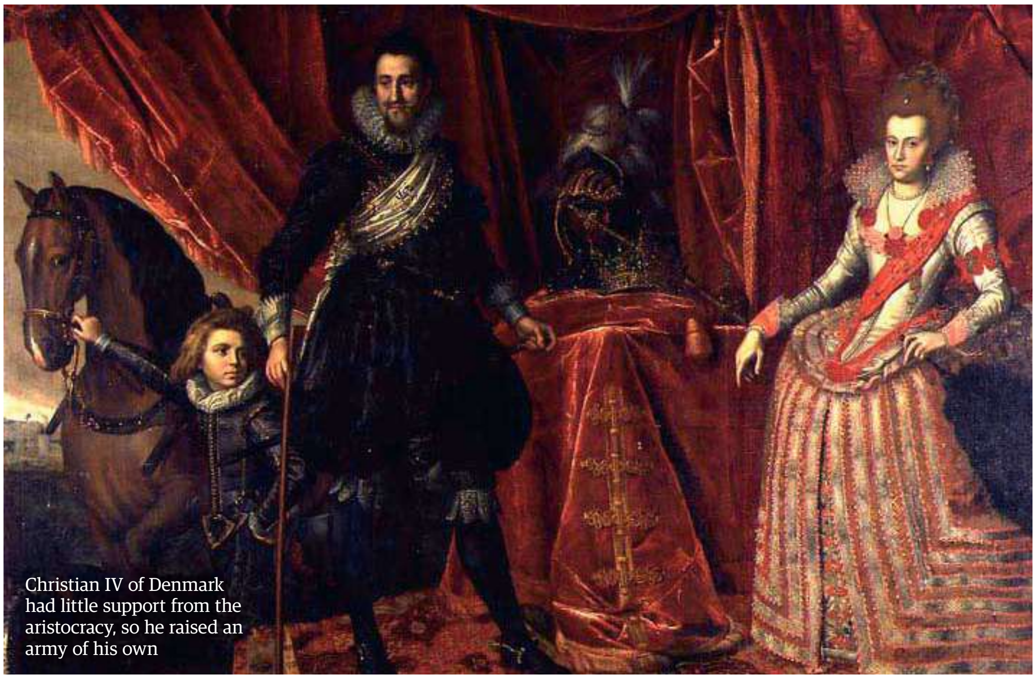
Without their king, the ill-disciplined Swedish troops committed one reckless charge after another into the Catholic forces led by Emperor Ferdinand's son – the King of Hungary – and the Cardinal-Infante of the Spanish Netherlands, who had come to reinforce his cousin. The Protestants all but annihilated their own forces thanks to their lacklustre tactics, and their carelessness ended Sweden's involvement as a major military player for several years.

Once more in the ascendancy, Ferdinand forced the Protestant German princes to come to terms at the Peace of Prague in 1635. His former general Wallenstein had been assassinated the previous year, so the emperor was elated when the princes agreed to dissolve both the Catholic League and newly formed Heilbronn League and instead form a unified army under the Emperor's control. In return for power over the military, Ferdinand agreed that the north of the empire would be free once again to practice moderate Protestantism. These concessions essentially ended the religious civil war that had initiated the conflict in the Holy Roman Empire.

One last German prince remained defiant, however – Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. The former commander of the Swedish forces aligned himself with the French, who declared war on Spain in 1635. From this moment on, the primacy of religion, the cause of the divide between the Catholic and Protestant states and the driving force behind the Thirty Years' War, was usurped by international politics. The two major forces of France and Spain were both Catholic, but unfortunately for the long-suffering Germans they had chosen their country as the battleground to decide who was the major power on the continent.

The French war effort didn't get off to an excellent start. Their troops were poorly trained and their commanders lacked the ingenuity of the Swedes. Seeing the vulnerability of the French, the Cardinal-Infante moved across the Rhine with a mind to invade Paris. He was supported to the south by another imperial force, but its movement across the Rhine was obstructed by Duke Bernard. Reports of Swedish threats to the rear then pulled the imperials back into Germany. The Cardinal-Infante was reluctant to invade without aid, so he too turned back, leaving the French slightly bewildered but undoubtedly relieved that the attack on their capital had failed to materialise.

Emperor Ferdinand II died in 1637 and was immediately succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III. The former emperor had likely died feeling



Christian IV of Denmark had little support from the aristocracy, so he raised an army of his own

THE MASSACRE OF MAGDEBURG

Count Tilly's mistake cost thousands of innocent lives and turned many against the Catholic cause

In April 1631, Count Tilly of the Catholic League joined his lieutenant, Gottfried Pappenheim, outside Magdeburg. The city had recently declared for the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, and had refused to surrender. Angry at the prolonged siege and anxious about the Swedish army's impending arrival, on 20 May a contingent of troops took the initiative and launched a surprise assault that captured some of the walls. The defence of Magdeburg had failed, and destruction was soon to follow.

The men unleashed their frustrations on the citizenry by raping, stealing and murdering their way through the streets. Their commanders, who were at first powerless to stop them, could only watch on in horror as multiple fires sprouted up across the city. These quickly raged out of control in the blasting wind and before long the air was thick with smoke and flames. By the time the fires had subsided the city was a smouldering ruin.

Of the 30,000 inhabitants within the city prior to the assault, 25,000 had died in the slaughter. Tilly had their bodies cast into the Elbe, and the bloated corpses piled up in the reeds, some with their arms aloft as if raised in prayer. Many of the surviving women and children would soon die from exposure, and the men were forced into servitude if they could not pay their ransom. A census the following year would find that only a few hundred people had persisted in the city. Magdeburg had been stripped of life, and only a phantom of its former self remained.

that he'd left the position more powerful than when he'd first occupied it, but his successor would soon undo all of his work.

The French-allied forces had recently been enjoying parallel success: the resurgent Swedes had defeated an imperial army at Wittstock in the northeast of the empire and Duke Bernard had successfully starved the Rhine town of Breisach into submission. Duke Bernard passed away from natural causes in 1639, extinguishing the last ember of major German military involvement in the conflict. And yet the war trundled onward.

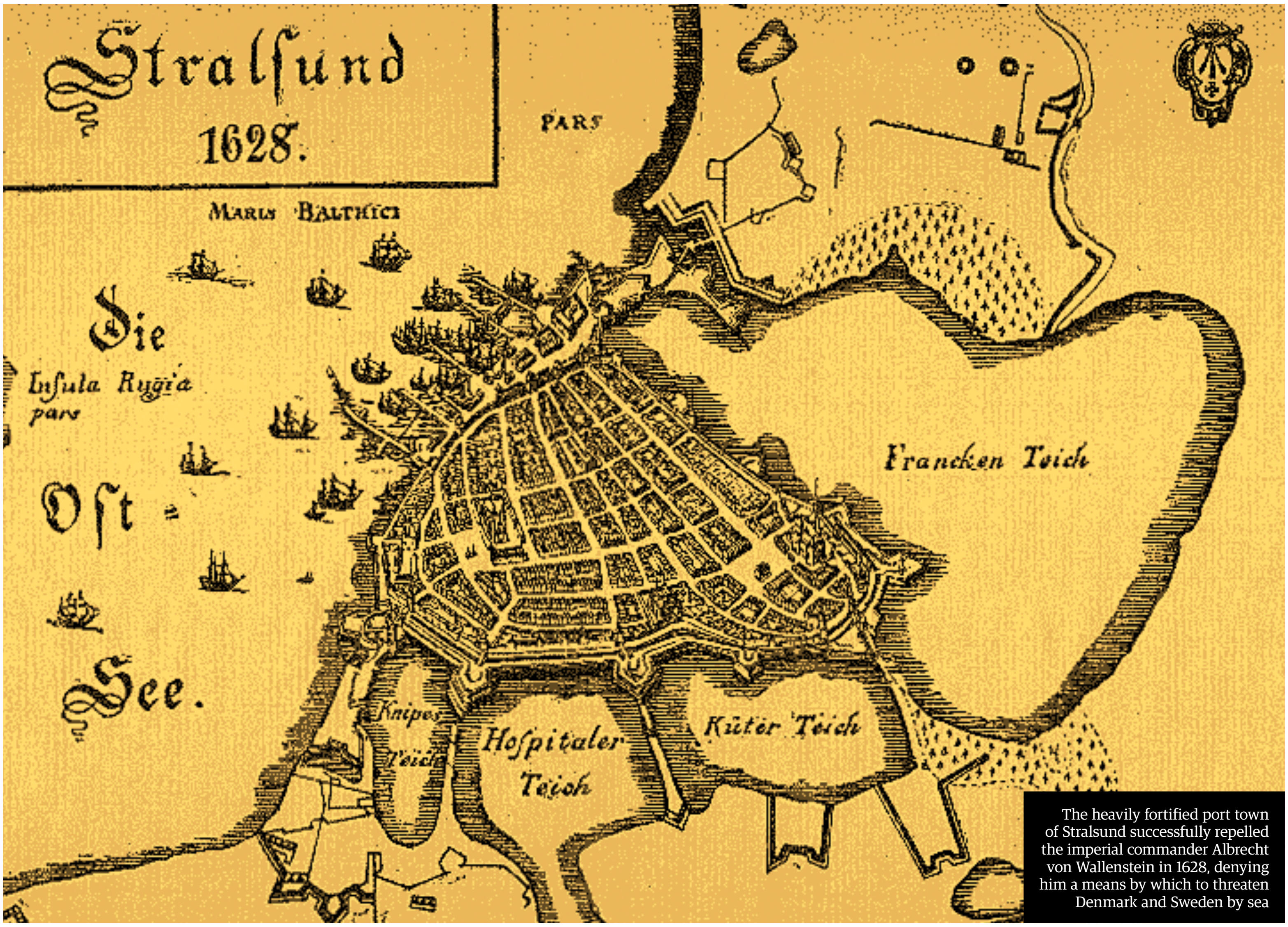
In 1642, the Second Battle of Breitenfeld saw the Swedish commander Lennart Torstensson, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus, win another victory over an imperial army. This put pressure on Ferdinand III to make a stronger conciliatory peace with the Swedish, but it would be a French victory in 1643 that would remove Ferdinand's Spanish allies from the board and render him powerless.

The French had been slowly improving throughout the war. Opting for quality over quantity due to their limited funds, the French shunned the practice of immediately recruiting captured soldiers into their army. This had the advantage of leaving them with a veteran, unified force proud to fight under the French banner. The French commander Duke d'Enghien used this now elite weapon to best the Spanish army amassed outside the town of Rocroi and in doing so obliterated Spanish military might.

With the French-Swedish alliance all but victorious, peace talks opened at the end of 1644 but progressed at a snail's pace. For their part, the German princes were particularly war weary. Personal ambition coupled with devout passions had driven them into the conflict all those decades ago, but now they felt that they'd suffered enough. In fact, it was the peasantry of Germany that had been hit particularly hard by the Thirty Years' War. The ruling class had dragged them into the conflict, but it had been their crops that had been razed, their homes destroyed, their finances depleted by taxes, their families forced into cannibalism inside besieged cities and their men pushed into battle.

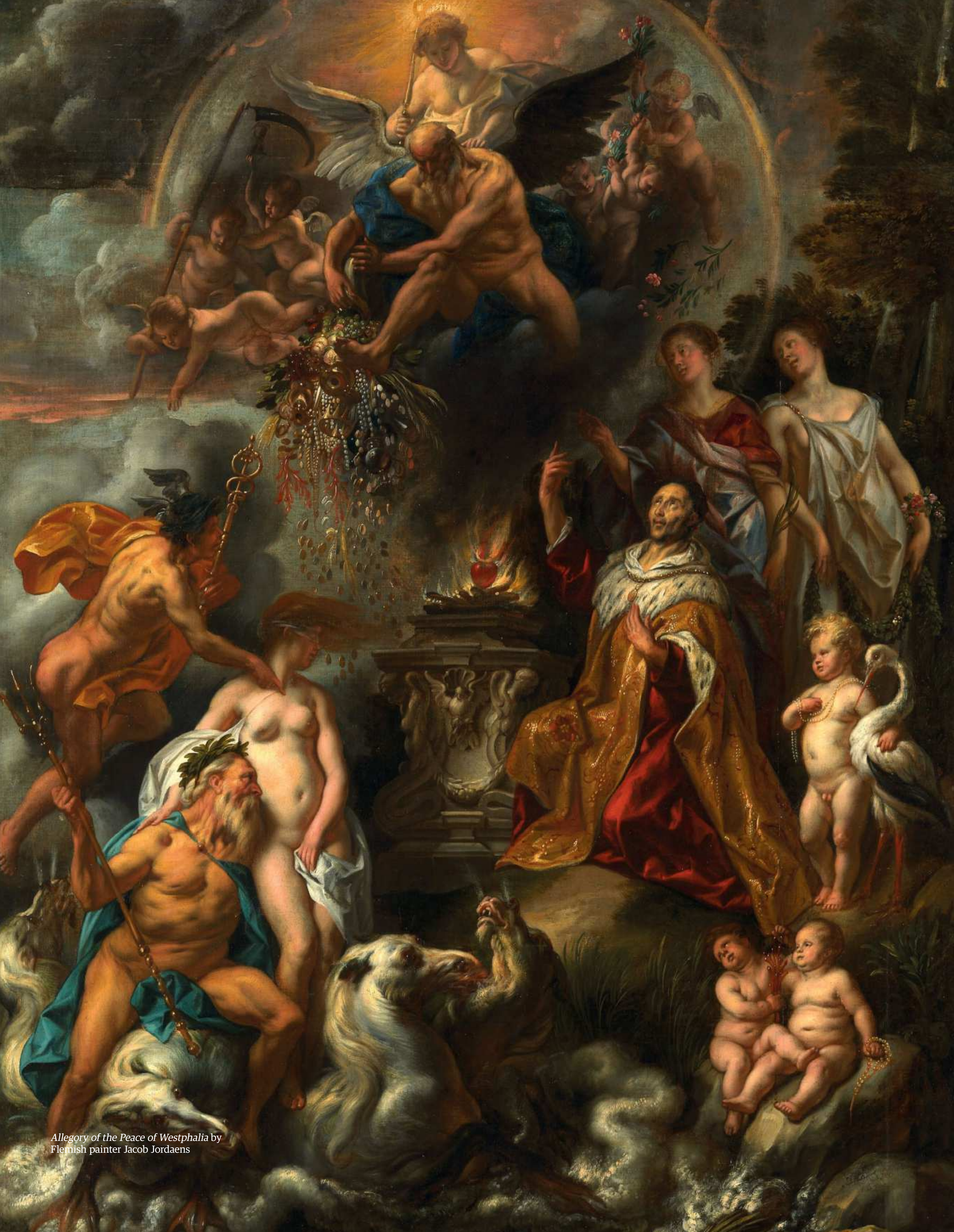
The battles themselves had inflicted hundreds of thousands of casualties, but the main ravages of war were felt by the families who had no means of feeding their children and no shelter in which to protect them. Exposure, starvation and disease had claimed countless lives and cost Germany dearly. Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, for one, was devastated by the sights he saw in his home country. It had once been so prosperous, but by the end of the Thirty Years' War the lands of the Holy Roman Empire were in ruins. The reach and power of the Catholic Church would never fully recover.

> *"The ill-disciplined Swedish troops committed one reckless charge after another"*



The heavily fortified port town of Stralsund successfully repelled the imperial commander Albrecht von Wallenstein in 1628, denying him a means by which to threaten Denmark and Sweden by sea

Images: Getty Images; Alamy



Allegory of the Peace of Westphalia by Flemish painter Jacob Jordaens

1644-1648

THE BEGINNING OF THE END?

The Peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, but the treaty forever changed the political landscape of the Holy Roman Empire

Written by Dominic Eames

By the 1640s Europe had been tearing itself apart for three tumultuous decades in a series of wars of supreme destruction and bloodshed that had left millions dead and enveloped a myriad of countries and states. What had erupted as a religious conflict between the Catholics and Protestants within the Holy Roman Empire soon embroiled all of the continent's superpowers: France, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, Poland, Russia, England, Scotland and the independence-seeking Netherlands and Switzerland.

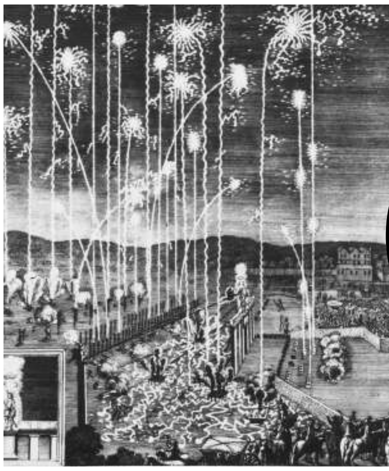
Each had their own cause for entering the fray, so the Thirty Years' War soon concerned not only religion but shifting alliances, bitter rivalries, commercial interests and political aspirations. The war was a conflict of such complexity and scope that in her seminal 1938 work, the 20th-century English historian Dame Veronica Wedgwood described the period as "the outstanding example in European history of meaningless conflict". To reach any kind of lasting peace would be, to put it mildly, no small feat.

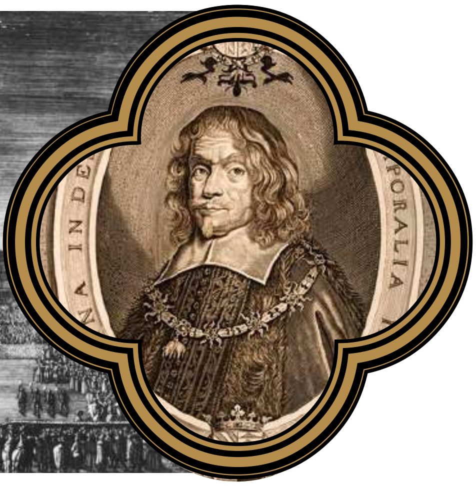
That daunting task began in earnest in the 1640s, once the decision had been made on where the peace talks should take place. The Holy Roman Empire had remained at the centre of the conflict over the years and overwhelmingly saw the worst of the destruction and death, so it understandably refused to see talks held outside of its borders. Two cities in Westphalia, in northwestern Germany, were chosen, as this placated all sides, all of whom wished to meet on friendly ground (Münster was a staunchly Catholic city while Osnabrück was home to a largely Lutheran population).

Yet despite these efforts at placation, it was never going to be possible for the talks to be held at a single place and on a specific date that would allow every representative to attend. The organisational pressure to involve no less than 194 states, including dozens of the imperial states, each bringing diplomats and thousands of delegation members, demanded that the negotiations be carried out over many meetings. The piecemeal peace talks therefore lasted for several years, beginning in 1644.

During that time, several men voiced the interests of the Holy Roman Empire, chief among them Maximilian, Count von Trauttmansdorff, a confidant of the emperor and the most influential figure in the negotiations. Along with the experienced diplomat Johann Maximilian von Lamberg and lawyers Johann Krane and Isaac Volmar, he met with the French, Dutch and Spanish envoys in Münster and those of Sweden in Osnabrück until his declining health forced him to step back. The dozens of Protestant imperial states were led by Brandenburg's Johann Graf von Sayn-Wittgenstein. Presiding over the talks was a papal nuncio, or ambassador, from the Vatican named Fabio Chigi (who went on to become pope in 1655).

Progress proved slow. It took six months to work out the seating arrangements and the order in which the diplomats would enter the room,

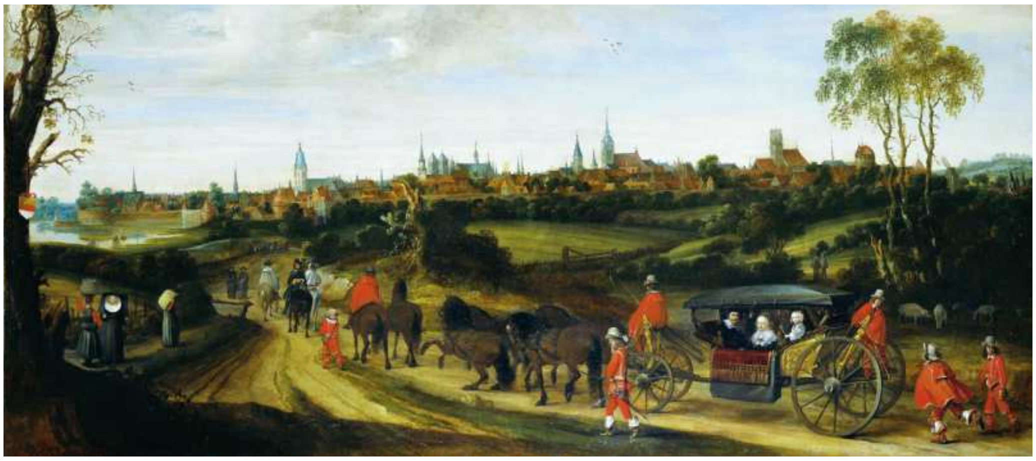




LEFT Celebrations mark the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, including fireworks in Sweden

INSET Count von Trauttmansdorff was a driving force in the talks

BELOW Münster was one of the two Westphalian cities chosen for the peace talks



while the representatives of France and Sweden failed to agree to a single meeting due to arguments over protocol. All the while the fighting continued, as did the suffering due to the famines and plagues ravaging Europe, especially in the empire. Following years of back-and-forth discussions and laborious meetings, enough deals and compromises had been reached for the signing of the first treaty on 30 January 1648 between Spain and the Dutch.

Then, on 24 October, two treaties were simultaneously signed in Münster and Osnabrück that would go down in history as the documents that marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, one of the bloodiest, most unforgiving conflicts ever to scar Europe. The Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand III, signed them with France, Sweden and their allies. Following the preamble, the text of the Peace of Westphalia read, "That there shall be a Christian and Universal Peace, and a perpetual, true, and sincere amity between his Sacred Imperial Majesty and his most Christian Majesty."

His most Christian Majesty, the King of France, the young Louis XIV, had cause to be more pleased than the emperor. Under the terms of the treaty France secured its ownership over the region of Alsace and the towns of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which gave it a strategically strong frontier on the Rhine River. France's ally Sweden received a huge cash sum along with the territory of western Pomerania, the port cities of Stettin and Wismar, and the imperial regions of Bremen and Verden. This strengthened Sweden's control of the Baltic Sea and gave it a voice in the Imperial Diet.

Despite France and Sweden only entering the Thirty Years' War in the 1630s, they both made substantial gains from the carnage, as did the Protestant states of Brandenburg and Bavaria, which acquired key territories including the Upper Palatinate. The Lower Palatinate, meanwhile, was restored to the son of Frederick V, the man whose crowning as King of Bohemia had been one of the catalysts for war.

The other territorial winners were the United Netherlands and the Swiss Confederation. The treaty confirmed them as independent republics from Habsburg-controlled Spain and the empire respectively, a status they had held for decades already, albeit unofficially. Not all conflicts that arose from the war, however, had been ended by the peace, nor all disputes resolved to everyone's satisfaction. In fact, France remained at war with Spain for another 11 years.

Yet it was not just the map of Europe getting a shake-up. The Thirty Years' War had long ago stopped being about religion – after Catholic France had joined on the side of the Protestants against their Habsburg rivals in the empire and Spain – but the treaty arguably made more important steps when it came to ecclesiastical matters.

Most notably, signatories had to recognise the Peace of Augsburg, a treaty signed in 1555 to grant Lutherans tolerance within the empire.

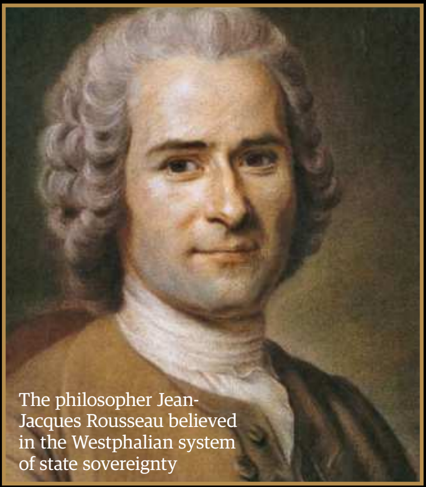
WHEN PEACE CHANGED THE WORLD

The Peace of Westphalia ended a war, but did it also affect international politics for centuries?

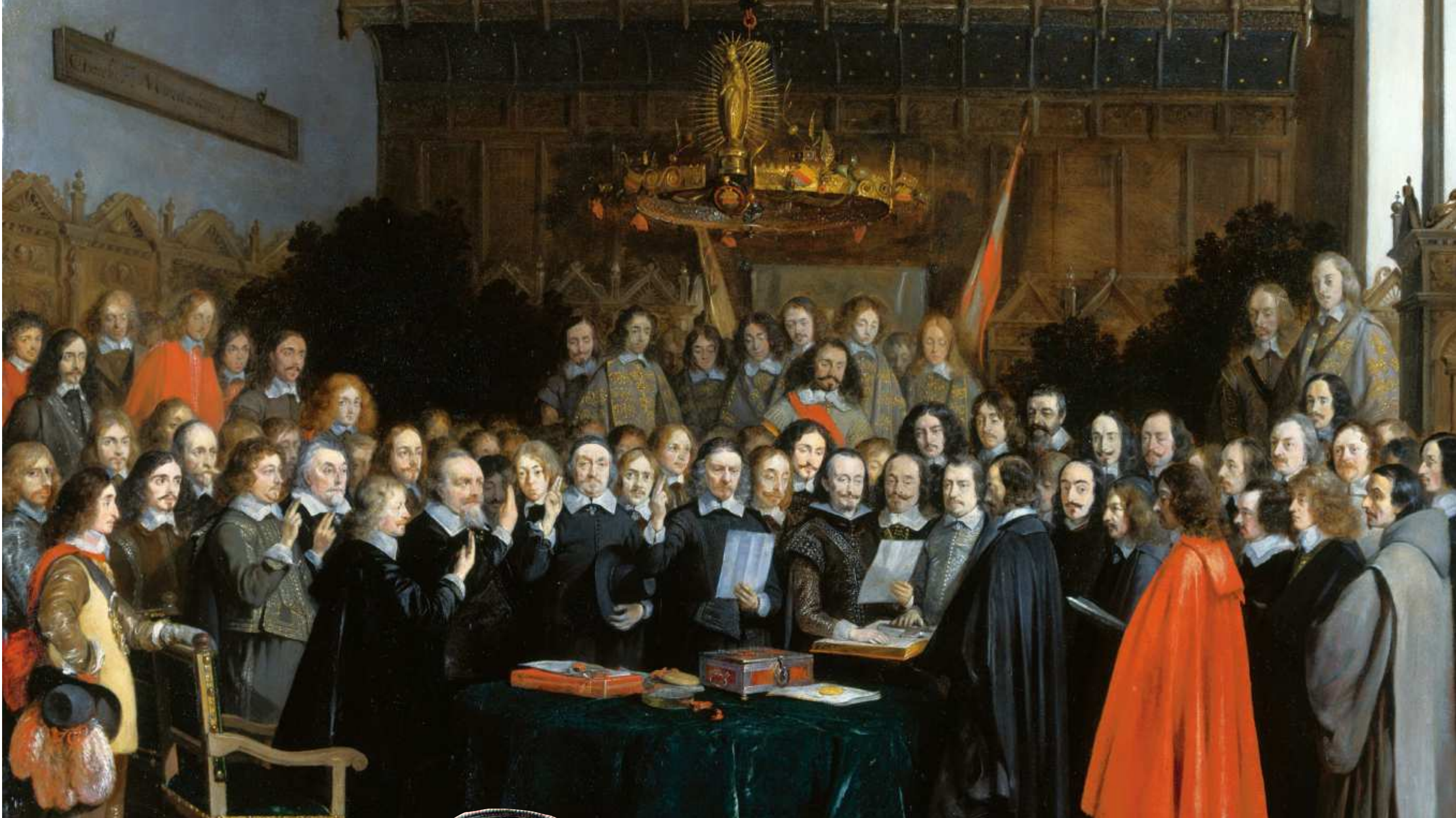
"The Peace of Westphalia may well remain the foundation of our political system forever." So said the great Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1761, well over a century after the treaties that ended the Thirty Years' War had been signed. By granting the individual states of the Holy Roman Empire sovereignty, the treaties would be heralded as the foundation of the modern state system.

The principle of international relations that has been attributed to and taken the name of Westphalia declares that every state has sovereignty over its territory and domestic affairs. They are all equal, no matter how large or small, and all must be free of interference from external powers.

Despite the reputation of the Westphalian system, the importance of the 1648 peace to international relations has been rejected by some historians who claim that the treaties contain nothing explicit concerning state sovereignty or non-interference. Instead, it was in the centuries since that such significance was assigned to Westphalia – by opinions much like Rousseau's and those contained within an influential article published in 1948, on the 300th anniversary, by Leo Gross. These views appealed at times of nationalistic fervour but were somewhat superseded as globalisation became more important.



The philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed in the Westphalian system of state sovereignty



Dutch painter Gerard ter Borch captures the moment the Peace of Münster is signed

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A medal commemorating the end of three decades of bloody war

This inclusion in the 1648 peace affirmed that the individual states could determine their own religion under the principle of ‘cuius regio eius religio’ (whose realm, his religion) and extended Augsburg’s tolerance towards the Calvinists. Christians living in a state of a different denomination to their own had the freedom to worship in public during certain hours and in private at their will.

A solution was also devised to resolve disputes over land. By setting the year 1624 as a fixed point, the treaty granted possession to those who had been in control of the land on 1 January 1624, regardless of whether it changed hands. Even if the ruling prince converted, they would forfeit their lands to ensure it aligned with the new template.

The empire was bound to religious toleration and had to adapt to a world in which Catholics and (some) Protestants were free to worship. Pope Innocent X became so angry upon hearing the news that he announced the peace to be “null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, empty of meaning and effect for all time”.

The truth would prove to be quite the opposite for the Holy Roman Empire, as the Peace of Westphalia made changes that were anything but empty of meaning and effect within its borders. The empire had lost land and the ability to enforce a single religion, undermining the efforts of its ongoing Inquisition, while the individual states and principalities within it became more powerful. The treaty recognised their sovereignty and empowered them to make their own treaties, allowing them to reject the hegemonic grip of the emperor in favour of governing themselves.

The fragmentation of the empire into around 300 semi-autonomous states became more pronounced. Just ten years after the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, dozens of German princes formed the League of the Rhine with France against the emperor, and areas like Brandenburg and Bavaria emerged as powers in their own right. The war left the empire devastated, with vast swathes of land plundered and millions (some estimates say as many as 8 million) of people dead (Germany lost approximately 20 per cent of its population). This was then followed by a peace treaty that dashed any hopes of the empire maintaining its grip on all of its territories.

“The treaty dashed any hopes of the empire maintaining its grip on all of its territories”

As the influence of the Habsburgs waned, other nations in Europe rose to power. The French King Louis XIV (also known as the ‘Sun King’) would dominate European politics for the remainder of the 17th century, while the empire had to face ongoing threats from the Ottomans to the east. It did pull off a great victory at the Battle of Vienna in 1683, marking the beginning of the end of Ottoman dominance, and it would not be until the early 19th century before the empire collapsed, but Westphalia had already signalled the beginning of the end.

The peace itself, however, has been said to have laid the foundations of the beginning of something new: the modern state system based on the principle of a state’s sovereignty over its territory and non-interference by foreign powers. It also helped establish a new form of international relations where diplomacy, coexistence and collective security became the norm, which to this day can be referred to as the ‘Westphalian system’.

The signing of the treaties in 1648 did not end all war in Europe, nor did they bring about the immediate end of the Holy Roman Empire. Their importance to international relations have been vehemently debated ever since. Yet the Peace of Westphalia is rightly remembered as a crucial moment in European history, a move away from the old way to a new order. In that way, the diplomats in Münster and Osnabrück succeeded in achieving the feat that seemed so unlikely in the chaotic aftermath of the Thirty Years’ War: a lasting peace.

Images: Getty Images; Alamy

ENDING THE INQUISITION

120 **How Napoleon ended the Inquisition**
It was always going to take a titan to end centuries of suffering, but few expected the Emperor of France to literally march into Spain and upend the Inquisition

124 **Confessing the truth**
Shrouded in myth for centuries, it's time to dive into the darkness and shine some light on the truth behind this troubling chapter in the Church's history

> *"The archives are full of reports of Spaniards criticising the Inquisition with impunity"*

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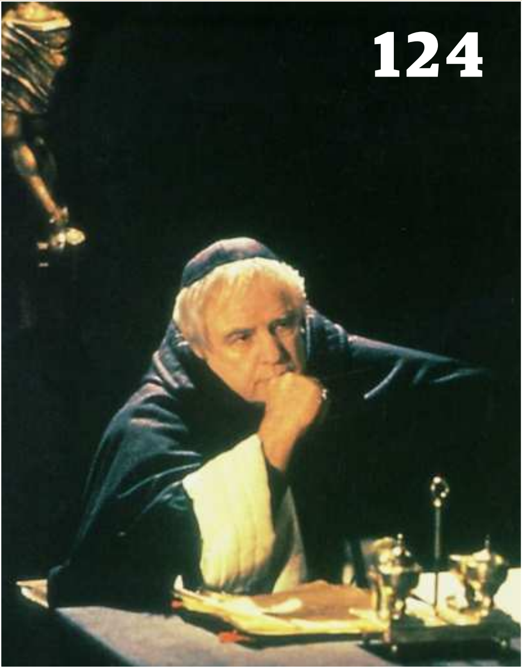

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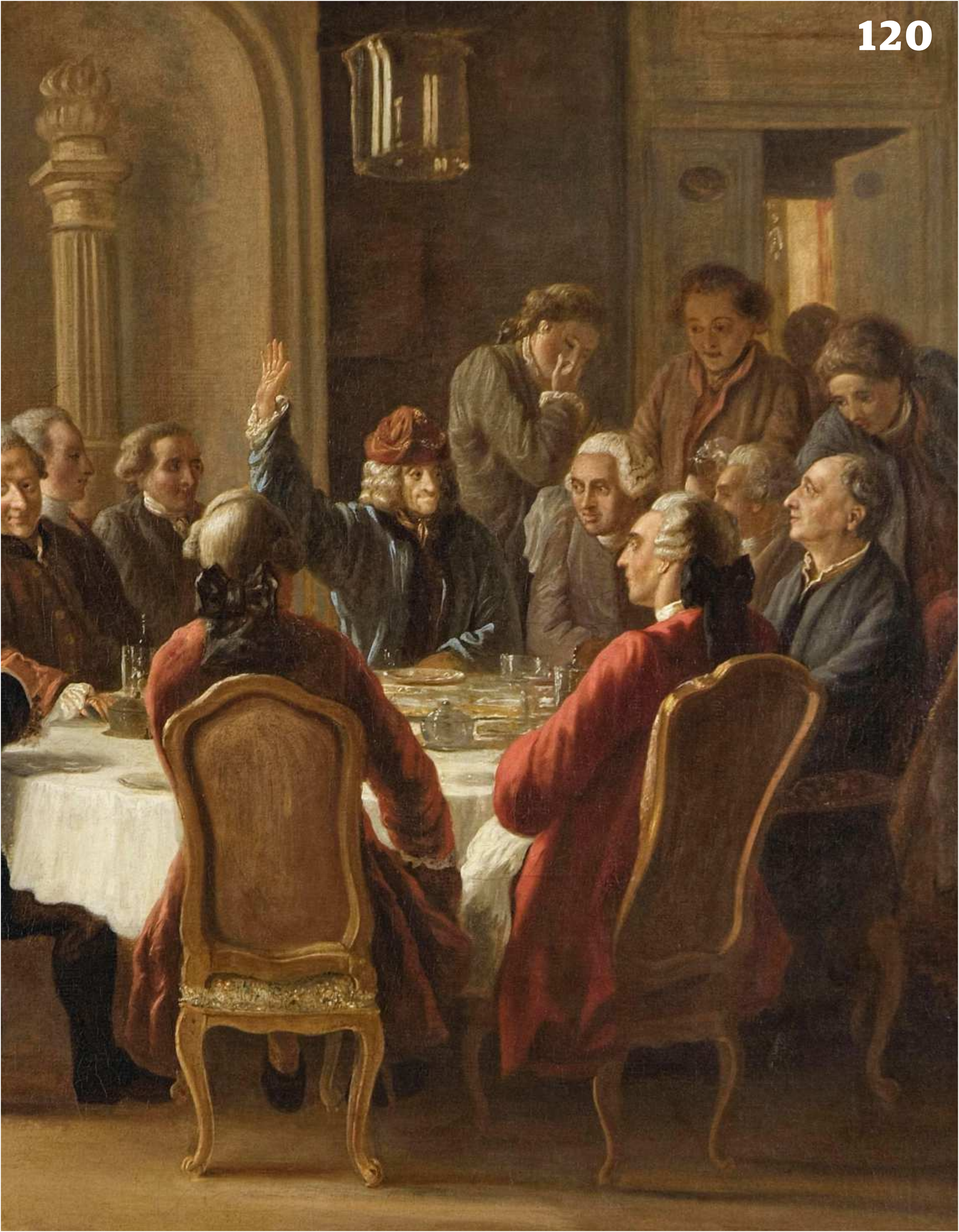


HOW NAPOLEON ENDED THE INQUISITION

After 330 years of rooting out supposed heretics, the Spanish Inquisition was finally abolished by the French emperor

Written by Jessica Leggett

For over three centuries, the Spanish Inquisition was a powerful - and feared - institution in Spain. So how did Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, become involved in its demise?

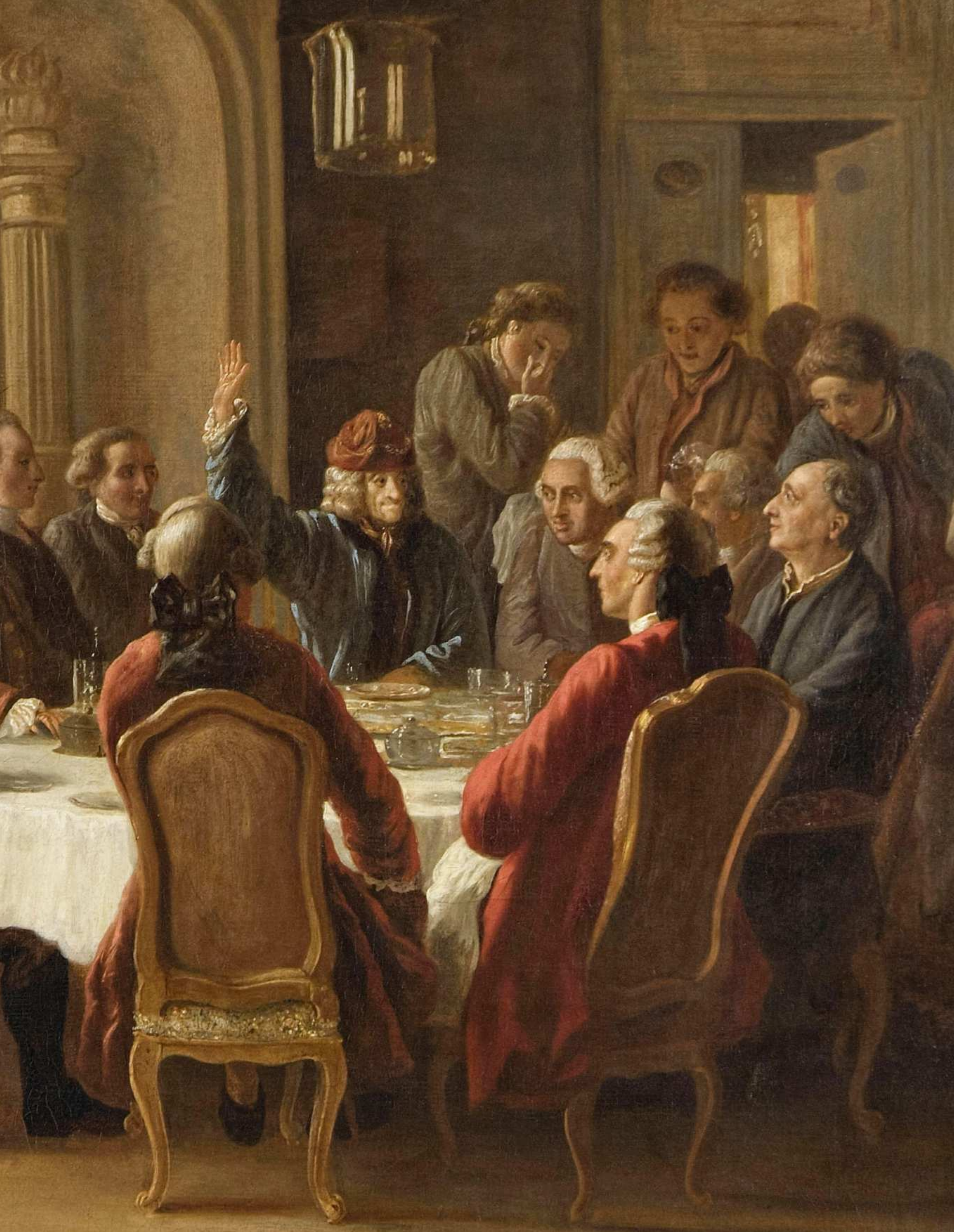
By the start of the 19th century, Napoleon had risen to power as the dominant force in Europe thanks to a string of military victories. However, Britain remained out of his control, and he attempted to bring her to her knees by launching an economic war against them, hoping that this would force the British to surrender. Already allied with Spain, he demanded that Portugal join his trade embargo against Britain and declare war.

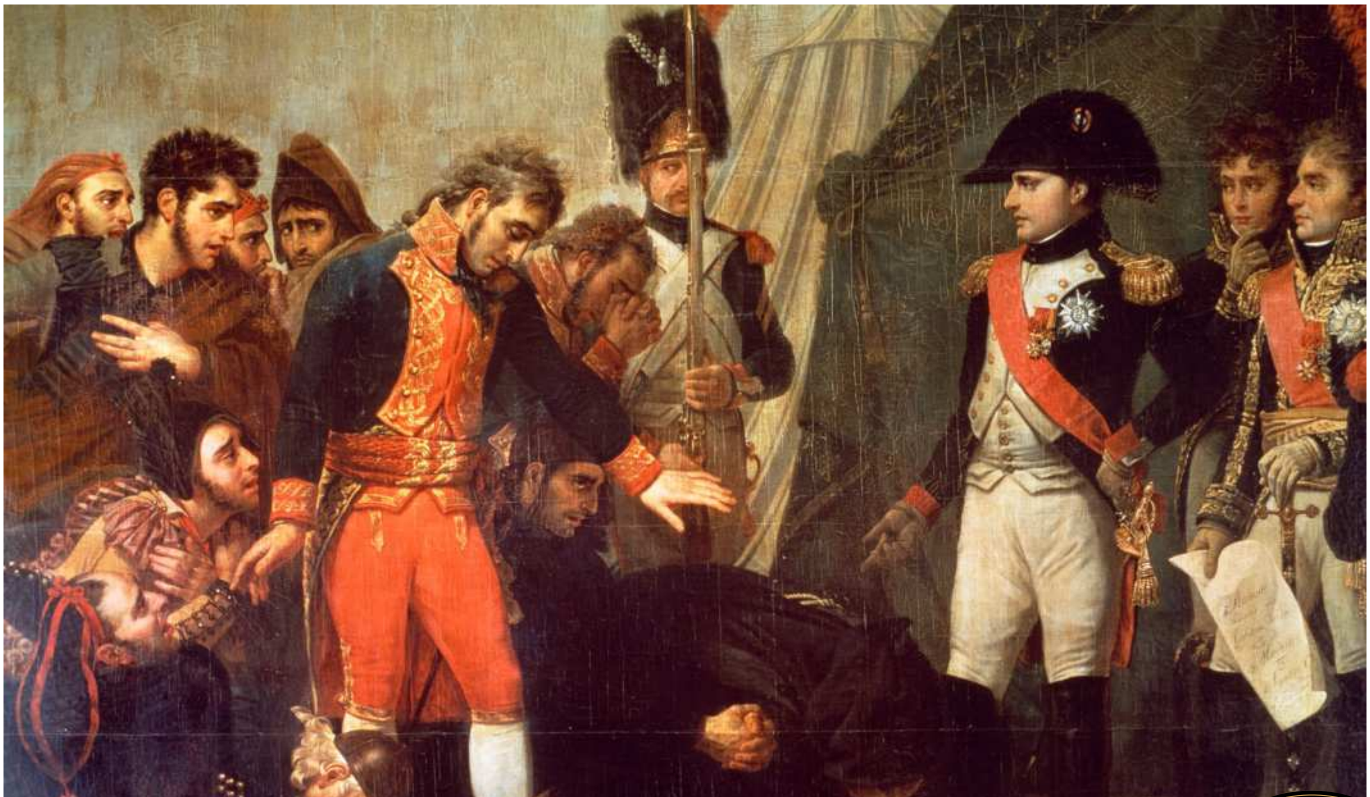
Yet Portugal, Britain's long-standing ally for 400 years, refused to bend to Napoleon's will. Infuriated, Napoleon used this refusal as a pretext for war and invaded Portugal in July 1807, sending his troops through Spain. The Portuguese royal family fled into exile in Brazil as his army advanced, and soon enough Napoleonic France conquered Portugal.

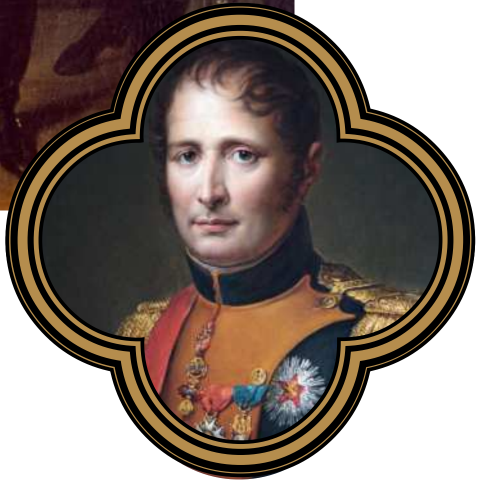
As they made their way to Portugal, Napoleon's troops also occupied areas of northern Spain, a country that had been experiencing political turmoil. In March, King Charles IV had been forced to abdicate by his son and successor, King Ferdinand VII, following the Tumult of Aranjuez, an uprising against Charles. Ferdinand had earlier led a failed coup d'état against his father and tensions between the two men were high.

Taking advantage of their conflict, Napoleon offered to mediate between the two men and arranged a conference in May 1808. This, however, was a trap, and Napoleon forced Ferdinand and Charles to abdicate their rights to the throne.

RIGHT
The spread of Enlightenment ideas weakened the Spanish Inquisition







LEFT Madrid surrenders to Napoleon after his successful invasion in 1808

INSET Napoleon installed his brother, Joseph, as the new king of Spain

PORTRAIT RIGHT King Ferdinand VII was restored to the Spanish throne in 1814

PORTRAIT FAR RIGHT The Spanish Inquisition was formally abolished for the final time by Maria Christina of the Two Sicilies

> *"Growing religious tolerance in Europe made Spain appear backwards"*

He subsequently installed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, as the new king of Spain. The invasion and occupation of Spain triggered the Peninsular War, one of the key conflicts of the Napoleonic Wars.

Napoleon's decision to seize the Spanish throne and install his brother as king, as well as occupy Spain, enraged the Spanish people. Immediately, the fight for Spanish independence began, with a rebellion in Madrid, known as the Dos de Mayo Uprising, and further pockets of guerrilla warfare throughout the provinces. Joseph was forced to retreat to northern Spain in August to await French reinforcements, who ruthlessly suppressed the Madrid rebellion in December. Nevertheless, the French failed to gain control of the entire country, with Britain also sending troops to support the rebels in Portugal and Spain.

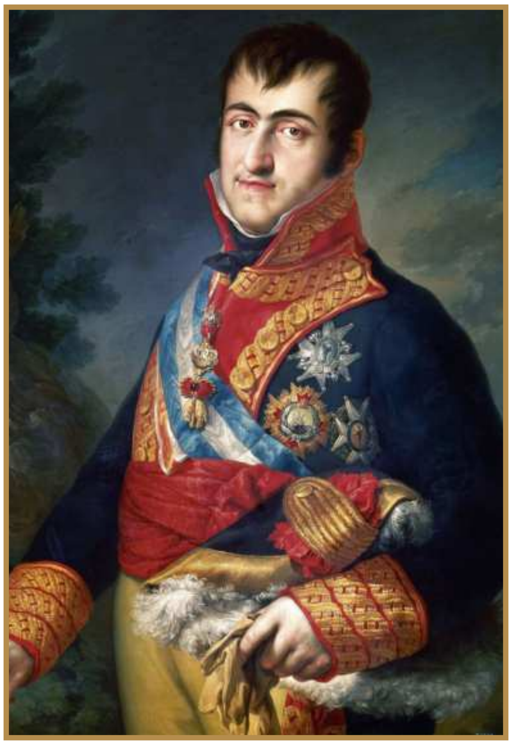
So, what does this all have to do with the end of the Spanish Inquisition? Napoleon had a fraught relationship with the Catholic Church throughout his life, and during his occupation of Spain he found himself at loggerheads with Pope Pius VII. Opposing the control and influence of the papacy and Catholic Church in Spain, Napoleon had his brother abolish the Inquisition on 4 December 1808. The controversial decision to end the Inquisition, a part of Spanish life and society for more than three centuries, sparked a negative reaction from many traditionalists in Spain and other parts of Catholic Europe. Even so, the Cortes of Cádiz – the parliamentary body established in 1810 that claimed Spanish sovereignty and opposed the French – also abolished the Inquisition with the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812.

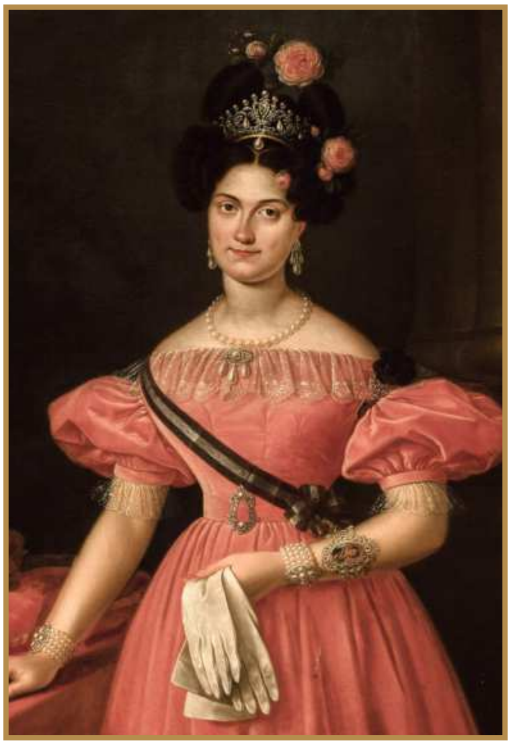
On 11 December 1813, Joseph abdicated the throne less than six months after his troops were defeated at the Battle of Vitoria by the British, Portuguese and Spanish armies. This victory paved the way for Napoleon's defeat and the end of the Peninsular War in April 1814, which ultimately led to his downfall. Ferdinand was restored as king of Spain after Joseph's abdication, and he immediately re-established the absolutist monarchy. He rejected the constitution of 1812 and as a result effectively reinstated the Spanish Inquisition. However, a liberal uprising in 1820 forced him to abolish it once again.

Three years later, Ferdinand regained absolute control of Spain thanks to the support of France and its army, which helped to quash the liberals. He annulled all of the acts that had been introduced from the 1820s onwards and therefore – once again – the Inquisition was re-established. However, the king did not formally bring the Inquisition back and it never regained the power it once held.

There were two main reasons why Ferdinand was reluctant to formally declare the return of the Spanish Inquisition. First, he was dependent upon the support of the French government that had restored him to power, which did not want the Inquisition to return. Second, he did not want to bow to pressure from the traditionalist right who increasingly opposed him, concerned that they would use the Inquisition to persecute his allies.

The Inquisition was essentially back in name only. However, a number of Juntas (tribunals),





acting in place of the Inquisition, had sprung up in a few dioceses across the country and these tribunals were tolerated by Ferdinand.

It was the tribunal in Valencia that was responsible for executing the last victim of the Spanish Inquisition, Cayetano Ripoll. A schoolmaster from Ruzafa, located just outside of Valencia, Ripoll had been captured during the Peninsular War and imprisoned in France. During this time he converted to Deism, the belief in the existence of God on the evidence of reason and nature only, without reliance on religion or religious authority.

Ripoll eventually returned to Valencia, and in September 1824 he was arrested for teaching Deist principles. He spent the next two years on trial, but despite being pressured he refused to convert to Catholicism and consequently he was sentenced to death. While some clergymen demanded that Ripoll be burned at the stake, the Audiencia - the highest judicial tribunal of local government - decided to hang him. Ripoll was executed on 26 July 1826.

News of Ripoll's execution greatly concerned Ferdinand, who made it clear to the Audiencia that these tribunals were not acting officially. The loss of royal support was a blow to the tribunals and their remaining influence throughout the country continued to dwindle over the next few years.

On 29 September 1833, Ferdinand died. He was succeeded by his young daughter, Queen Isabella II, who was two weeks shy of her third birthday. Ferdinand's widow, Maria Christina of the Two Sicilies - who was governing on behalf of her young daughter as queen regent - issued a decree that formally abolished the Spanish Inquisition for good on 15 July 1834.

Napoleon's invasion of Spain played a key part in ending the Spanish Inquisition, but it is important to note that it was not the only factor. Once welcomed as an institution that was seen to enforce discipline in Spanish society, popular support for the Inquisition throughout the country had greatly declined from its heyday between the 15th and 17th centuries.

This change in attitude was largely the result of the Enlightenment, which had swept through the continent during the late 17th and 18th centuries. The Enlightenment movement led to an increasing acceptance of the separation between the Church and the state throughout Europe, which left Spain increasingly isolated thanks to its dependence on the Catholic Church.

Growing religious tolerance in Europe also made Spain appear backwards in comparison to other nations, with famous Enlightenment figures such as Voltaire openly criticising the Inquisition. Numerous Enlightenment texts had also been circulated in Spain by the nobility and the movement's ideas spread throughout the country. The Inquisition opposed this, as Enlightenment ideas questioned Catholic orthodoxy, and they attempted to censor and suppress these texts, but this just served to weaken support for the institution even more.

After a French invasion, domestic turmoil and an intellectual and philosophical movement that swept through Europe, the Inquisition could no longer stand. Started by Queen Isabella I and King Ferdinand II, and ended by the former's namesake, Isabella II, the Spanish Inquisition had finally come to an end after 350 years. A mainstay of Spanish society, the Inquisition was a controversial period in history and today its legacy remains just as complicated.

A TIME FOR TOLERANCE

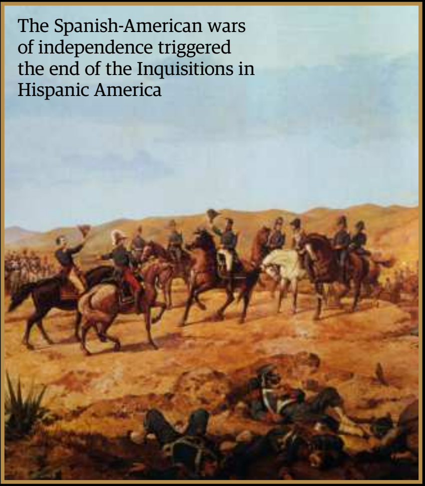
The Inquisition spread around the globe before losing support as views began to change

Generally, when thinking about the Inquisition, most of us would immediately associate it with Spain. However, the Inquisition also took place in other parts of the world, including Venice, Portugal and Hispanic America. As with the Spanish Inquisition, these institutions eventually collapsed against a backdrop of war and increasing religious tolerance.

The Venetian Inquisition, which had been established in the 16th century, had to contend with the spread of Enlightenment ideas in the 18th century, as the Catholic Church viewed them as heretical. This Inquisition, which lasted for over two centuries, came to an end in 1797 with the fall of the Republic of Venice after it was invaded and conquered by Napoleon and his army.

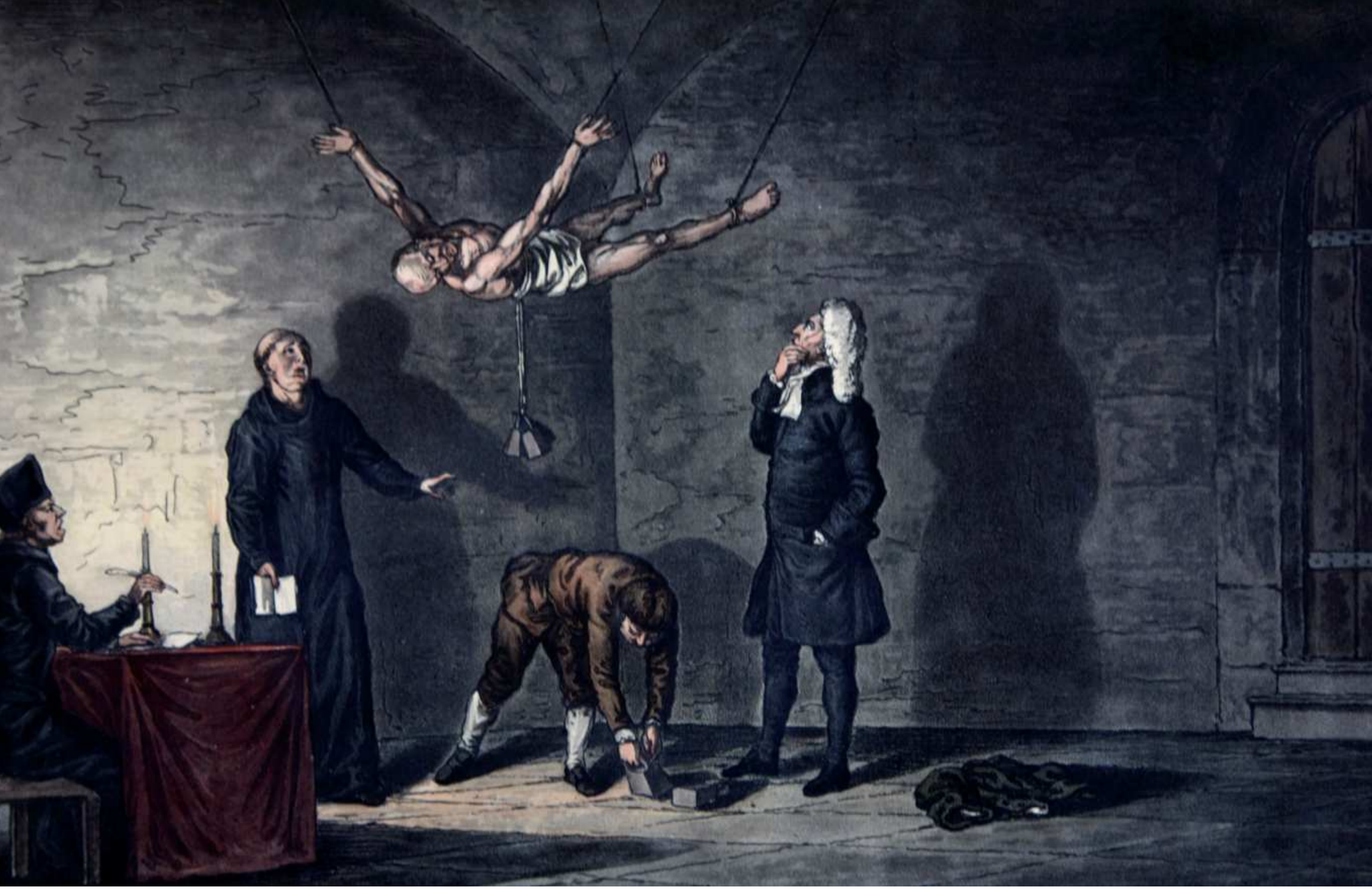
In Portugal, the Inquisition had been established by King John III in 1536 and it later spread to Portugal's colonial dominions, including Brazil and Goa. The Portuguese Inquisition was briefly suspended in the late 17th century before it was finally abolished in 1821 following the Liberal Revolution of 1820.

Meanwhile, the Spanish Inquisition had also spread to the Spanish colonies in the Americas, with the Inquisition being established in territories such as Mexico and Peru in the 16th century. However, after the Napoleonic Wars and the Spanish-American wars of independence, which saw Spain lose all of its colonial possessions in the Americas, the Inquisitions in Hispanic America were abolished in the 19th century.



The Spanish-American wars of independence triggered the end of the Inquisitions in Hispanic America

Images: Alamy, Getty Images



CONFESSING THE TRUTH

DEBUNKING THE INQUISITION MYTHS

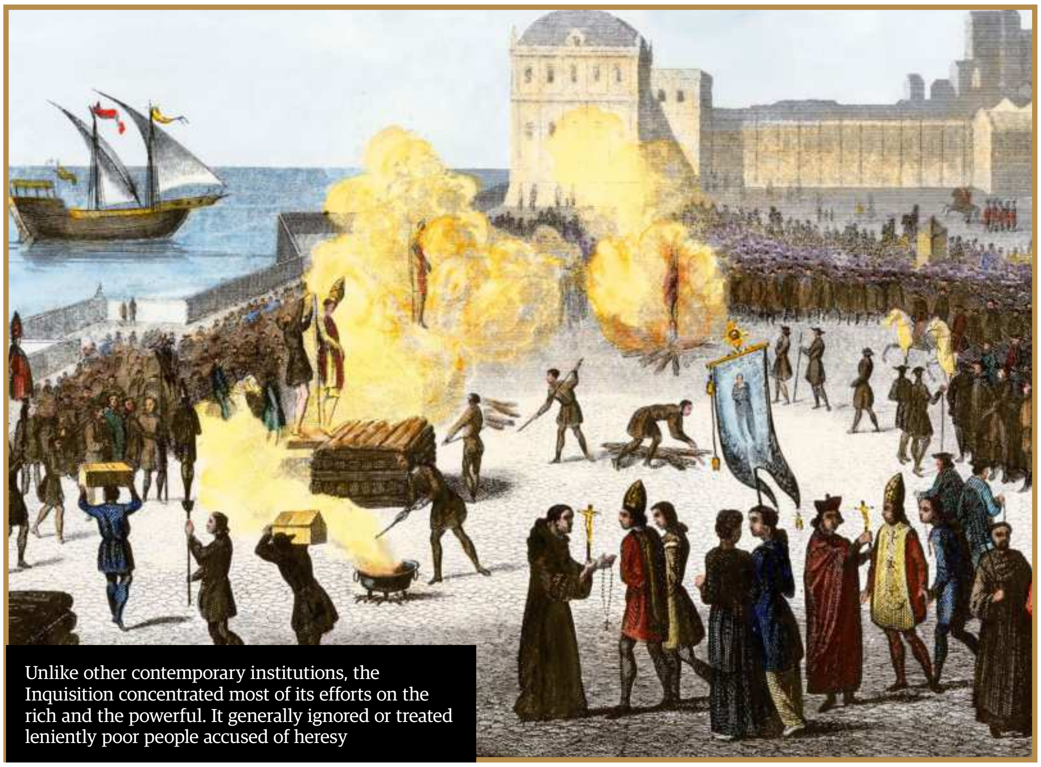
Nobody expects that most of what we know about the Inquisition is false

Written by Edoardo Albert

The image of the Spanish Inquisition stands stark in the modern imagination: red-clad monks presiding over the sadistic torture of innocent people before consigning them to the flames. In terms of victims, the numbers spiral upwards: tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions even. By these lights, the Inquisition was an omnipotent organisation that brooded over Spain and the wider Catholic world, extirpating any hint of free thought, burning Protestants and heretics, and all without a scintilla of mercy – a uniquely corrupt and evil institution. In fact, these are largely myths. The Inquisition was both more wide ranging, in time and period, than its Spanish iteration, and generally less brutal than the secular institutions of its day. In this feature we will examine some of the main myths that continue to surround the Inquisition and separate evidence from propaganda and fact from fiction.

THE INQUISITION WAS A UNIQUELY BLOOD-THIRSTY INSTITUTION

Some of the more lurid accounts of the toll taken by the Inquisition suggest that its victims numbered in the tens or hundreds of thousands. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, as Spain lay in its post-imperial slumber, these sorts of figures went largely unchallenged and entered the stream of common belief. However, the opening of the Inquisitorial archives and the painstaking work of a generation of scholars have demonstrated conclusively that these sorts of numbers are a wild exaggeration. Examining the 355-year history of the Spanish Inquisition, scholars estimate that it executed between 2,000 and 10,000 people. A considerable number, but at least an order of magnitude less than the myth of its savagery would suggest. By comparison, the witch-hunting frenzy that afflicted Europe brought about the deaths of between 40,000 and 60,000 people. The toll taken by the Inquisition also pales in comparison to the number of people executed for normal crimes by the secular authorities, for this was an era when people could be put to death for crimes ranging from stealing a sheep to counterfeiting. So, while the Inquisition was by no means innocent, it was significantly less brutal than similar institutions of its era.



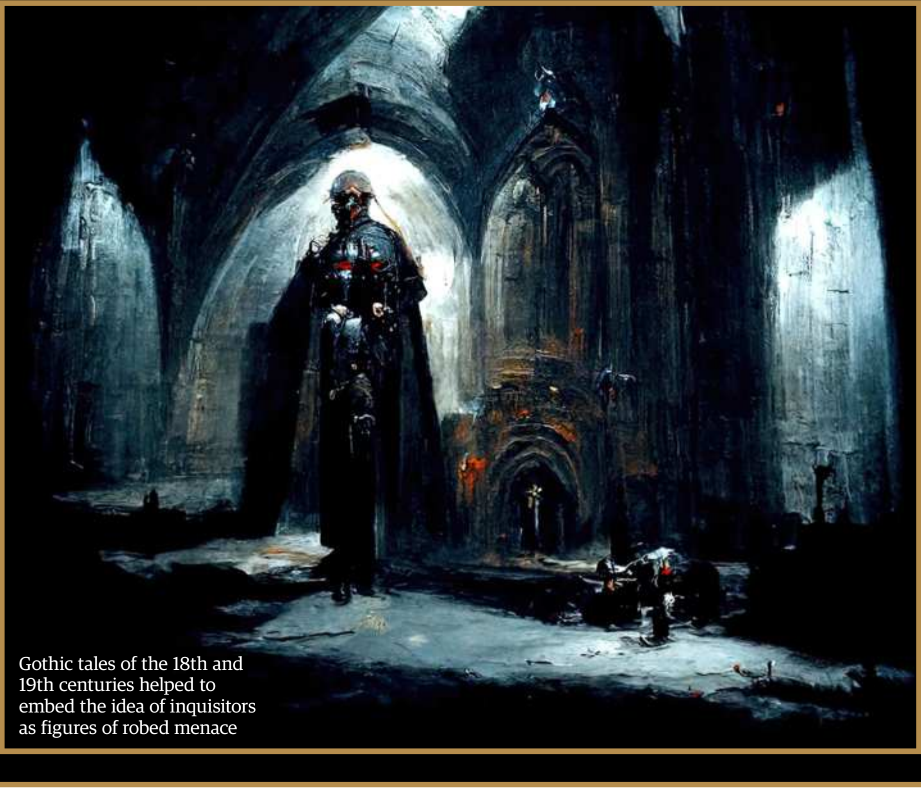
Unlike other contemporary institutions, the Inquisition concentrated most of its efforts on the rich and the powerful. It generally ignored or treated leniently poor people accused of heresy

THE INQUISITION WERE THE ENFORCERS OF THE CHURCH

The killer monk from *The Da Vinci Code* has reinforced the idea of the papacy having a secret force of trained killers that do its bidding

In the view of the popular imagination, the Inquisition was the enforcement arm of the Catholic Church, a special organisation that the popes employed to ensure that people in Catholic countries did and believed what the pontiff told them to do and believe. Works of fiction such as *The Da Vinci Code*, where Opus Dei stood in for the Inquisition, have not helped to counter this belief. However, the Spanish Inquisition, from which most of the notoriety of the wider institution derives, was an instrument of the Spanish state, not the papacy. It was established by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478 to deal with the perceived problem of religious orthodoxy among convert Jews, but its remit and lifespan was extended when Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors, found the Inquisition too useful a tool of state control to give up. Spain was not so much a country as a federation of sovereign states, rather like England and Scotland under the Stuart kings, each with their own laws and institutions. The Inquisition was the one organisation whose brief and powers covered the whole country and, as such, it became an invaluable instrument of state power.

THE BLACK LEGEND OF THE INQUISITION

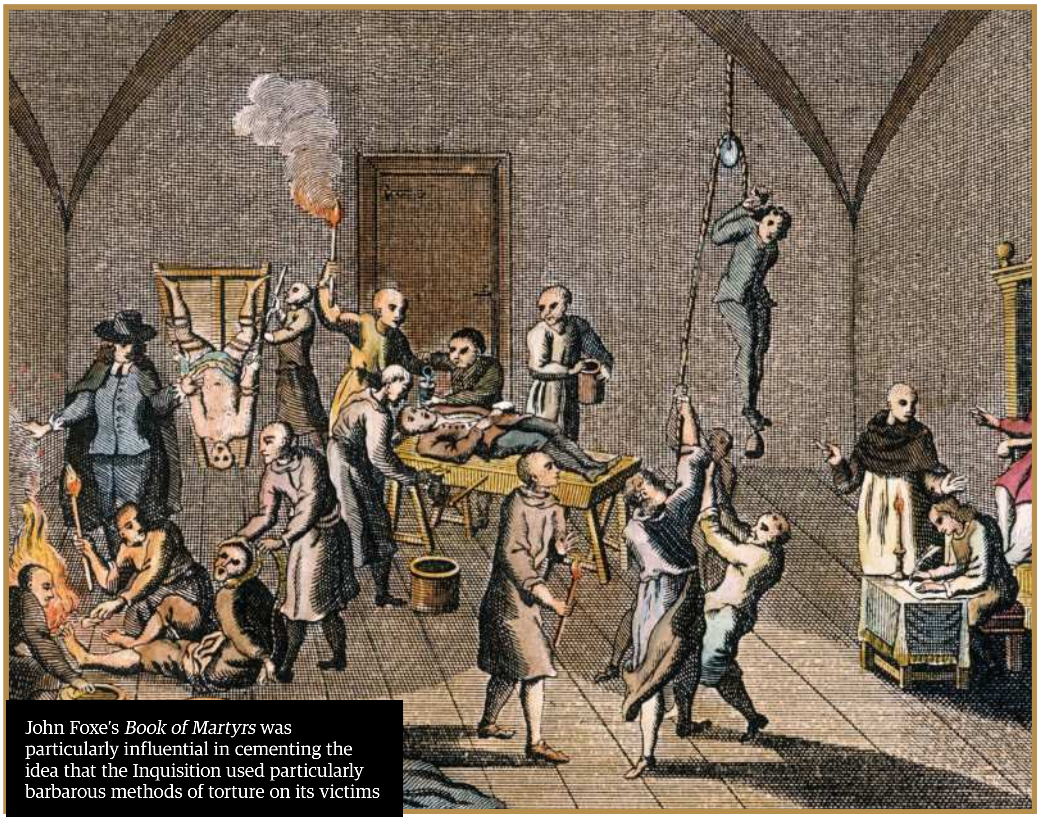


Gothic tales of the 18th and 19th centuries helped to embed the idea of inquisitors as figures of robed menace

The legend of the Spanish Inquisition, as a uniquely ferocious and overpowering institution that burned tens of thousands of innocent victims and reduced Spain to a state of intellectual impoverishment, is a result not of its actions but of the propaganda war between Protestant and Catholic Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. When the forces of Protestant Europe suffered a devastating defeat at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547 to the army of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, their response was to begin the propaganda campaign against the Spanish Crown and, in particular, its Inquisition. Further incentives to blacken Spanish institutions came when Charles' heir, Philip, sponsored the Armada in an effort to bring Protestant England back into the Catholic fold. Numerous works of increasingly sensational nature were published over the following centuries, and even when the Wars of Religion ended, the rise of Gothic literature found it had ready-made villains in the shape of sinister, red-robed inquisitors. It has only been over the last half-century that the Black Legend has been successfully challenged by scholars examining the records kept by the Inquisition itself.

THE INQUISITION TORTURED PEOPLE TO DEATH

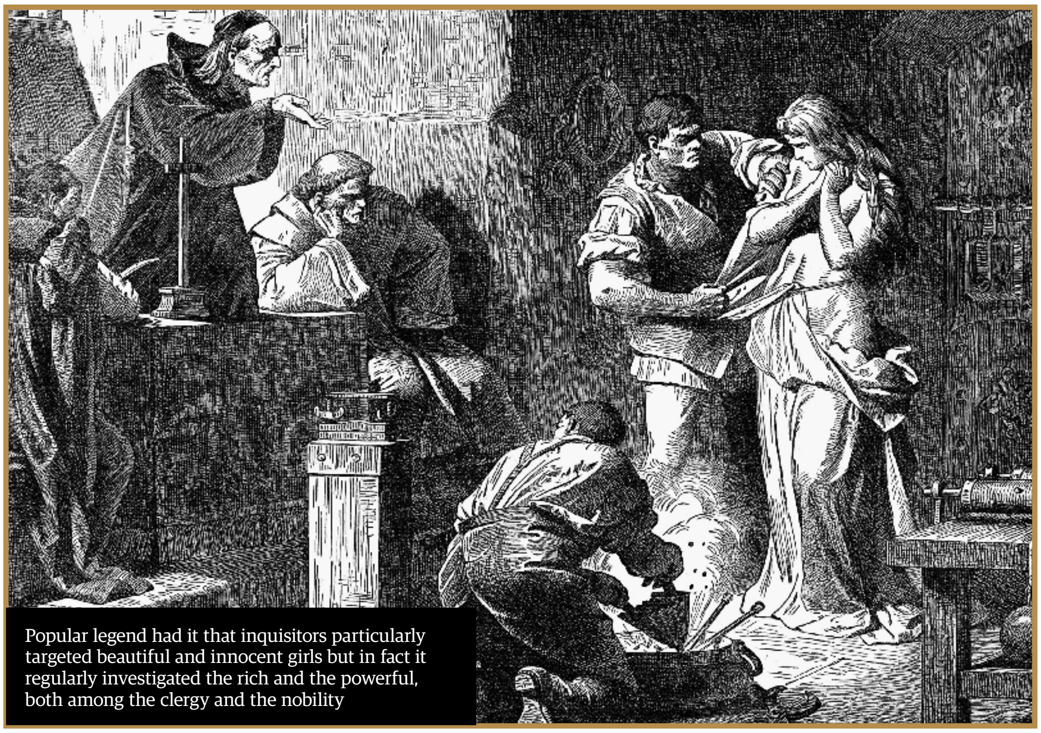
An integral part of Protestant propaganda against the Inquisition were increasingly lurid tales of the sorts of torture that it used to extract confessions from its victims. It is true that the Inquisition did use torture - this is not a myth. However, the types of torture that inquisitors could employ were strictly controlled and, by contemporary standards, they were relatively mild. Remember, this was a time when the standard mode of executing state enemies in England was hanging, drawing and quartering, where the living prisoner had to watch as his own intestines were extracted from his stomach by the executioner. In contrast, inquisitors were forbidden to cause any permanent injury to their prisoner, nor were they allowed to mutilate or draw blood. Torture could last for a maximum of 15 minutes and a confession derived under torture was not admissible as evidence unless confirmed by the accused later. In contrast, secular authorities throughout Europe at this time employed torture without time limits or restraints on the harm done to the accused. So, yes, the Inquisition sometimes tortured its prisoners, but it did so as a last resort, used less savage methods of torture than its contemporaries, and had strict controls over how much torture it could employ.



John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was particularly influential in cementing the idea that the Inquisition used particularly barbarous methods of torture on its victims

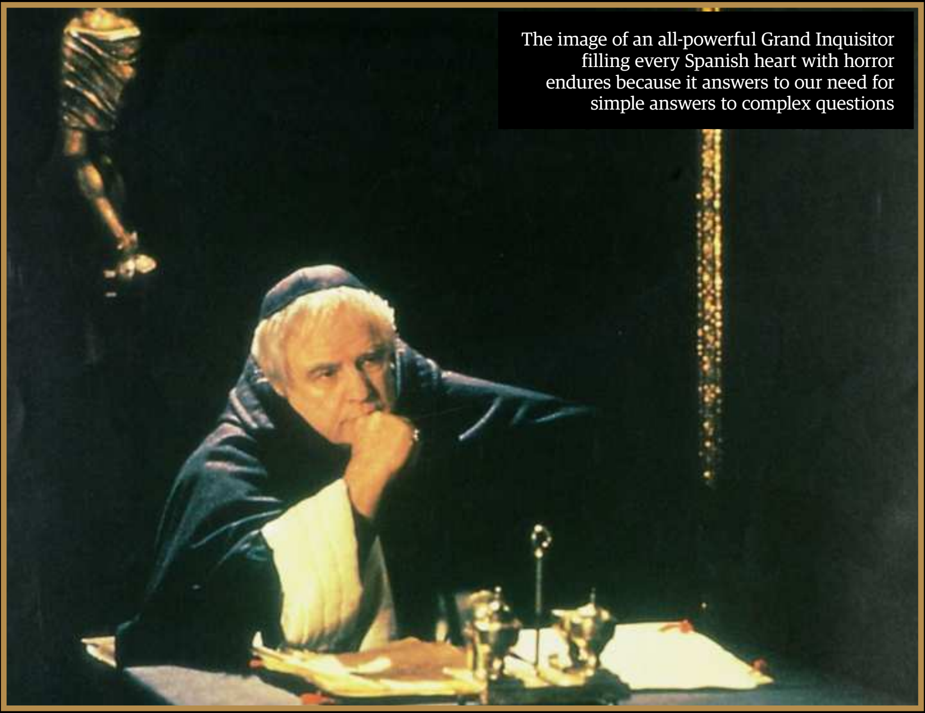
ABANDON HOPE IN THE PRISON OF THE INQUISITION

According to the Black Legend, once thrown into an Inquisition gaol, a prisoner might as well abandon hope of release while suffering from the most savage and repressive conditions anywhere in Europe. Their reputation was not helped by the Inquisition referring to its gaols as 'secret prisons', although this was meant to distinguish them from 'public prisons'. While it was true that some prisoners languished for many years in prison before trial – imprisonment was not usually a punishment imposed by the Inquisition – this was normally because of the Inquisition failing to keep up with its workload. Prisoners might then be left in prison for years while paperwork was being completed. However, the Inquisition generally sought to ensure that its prisoners were reasonably well fed and housed – so much so that prisoners of the state authorities regularly resorted to blasphemy or other stratagems in court so that the judicial authorities had no alternative but to transfer their cases to the Inquisition. Indeed, this happened so often that the Inquisition had to complain to the secular authorities about being forced to take their prisoners.



Popular legend had it that inquisitors particularly targeted beautiful and innocent girls but in fact it regularly investigated the rich and the powerful, both among the clergy and the nobility

THE INQUISITION HELD ALL SPAIN IN A GRIP OF TERROR FOR CENTURIES



The image of an all-powerful Grand Inquisitor filling every Spanish heart with horror endures because it answers to our need for simple answers to complex questions

The Inquisition has an image of overbearing power, but, in reality, there were only ever about 50 inquisitors to cover the whole of the country. The Inquisition's real – rather than its perceived – power was also limited by its lack of guaranteed income (inquisitors often scrabbled around for money to pay their bills), its shortages of support staff, and rivalries with ecclesiastical and secular authorities. For most of its existence, the Inquisition was little more than a name invoked to frighten children in rural areas of Spain. In villages, people would pass their whole lives without ever seeing an inquisitor. Even in towns, an inquisitor might visit maybe once a decade. Only in the major cities was there an ongoing Inquisitorial presence, and outside the kingdom of Castile that presence was often marginalised and ignored. Indeed, the Inquisitorial archives are full of reports of Spaniards criticising the Inquisition with impunity – hardly the actions of people living in mortal fear. There were a few times and places where the Inquisition became a baleful and overwhelming presence but for most of its history and in most places it was simply another distant arm of the state.

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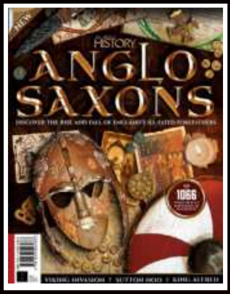
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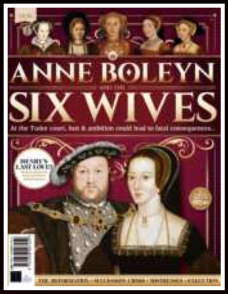
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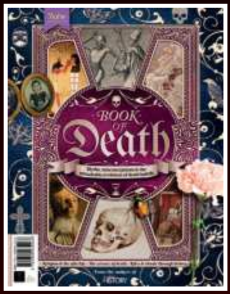
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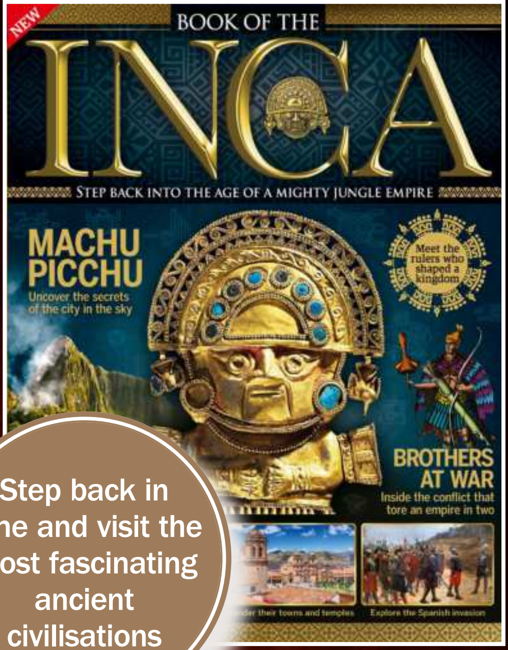
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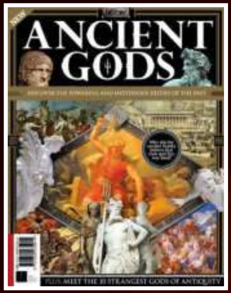
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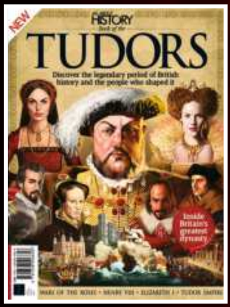

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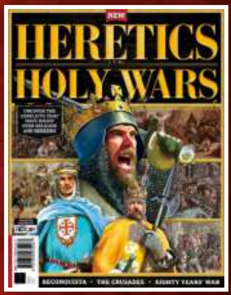
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THE INQUISITION
BY NUMBERS

125,000 – 150,000

People persecuted by the Spanish Inquisition

160,000

Jews expelled from Spain by the Alhambra Decree

300,000

Spanish Muslims expelled by King Philip III

40,000

Estimated victims of the Portuguese Inquisition

3,000 – 5,000

People executed by the Spanish Inquisition

28

Articles written by Tomás de Torquemada on crimes, interrogation methods and punishments

650 YEARS

Between the start of the first Inquisition to the abolition of the last Inquisition

50

Jews killed during the Mexican Inquisition

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